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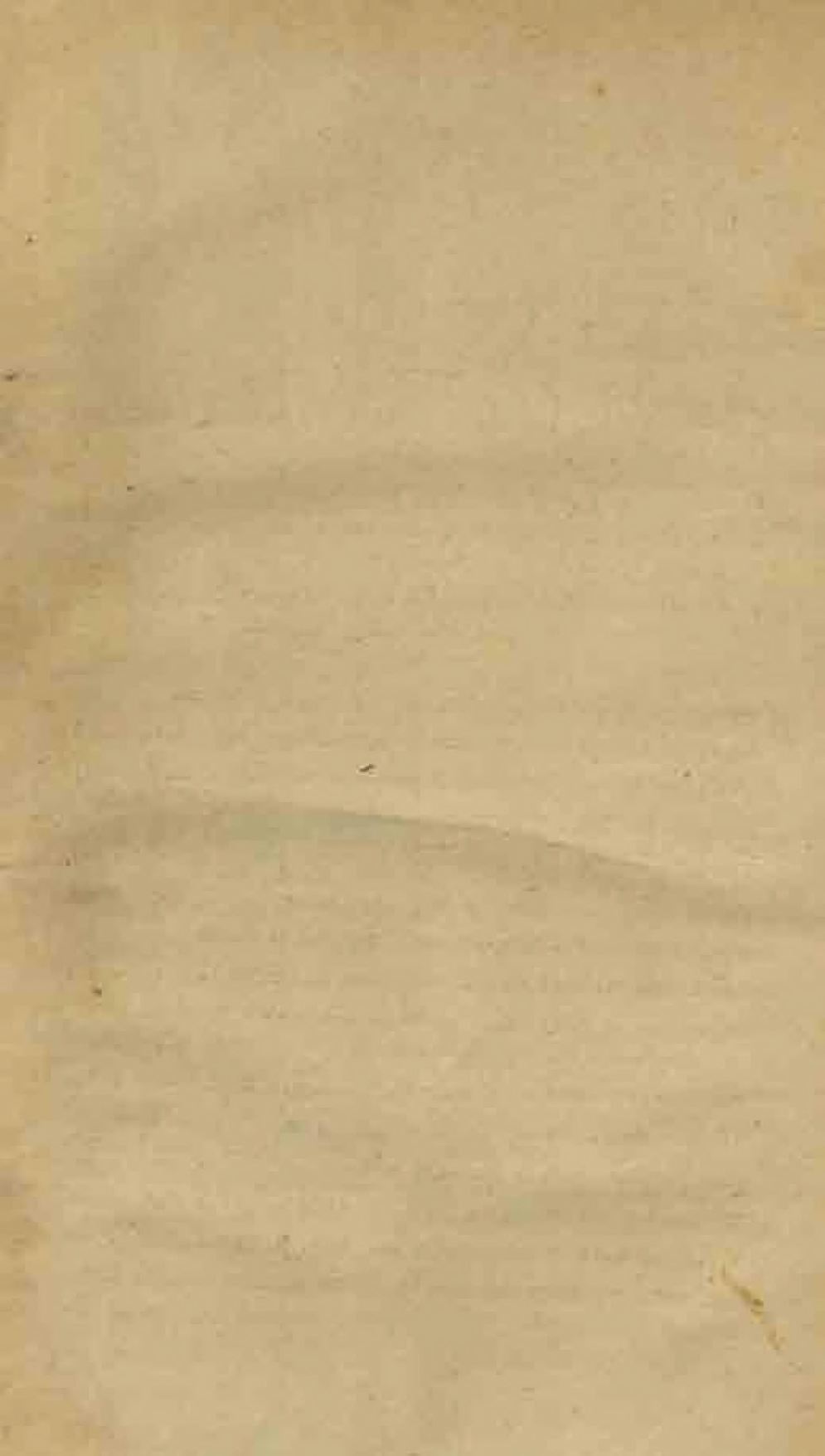
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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1889.

INDIAN VOLUNTEERS AND INDIAN
LOYALTY.

THE question of the enrolment of natives of India as volunteers to supplement the action of the regular army in the defence of the country against external attack and in the preservation of internal peace and order has been often raised and discussed. It has, within the last few years, been brought into special prominence by the action of political bodies, which, in Congresses held in Calcutta and Madras, have insisted, with some vehemence, on the right of the natives to this privilege, as, indeed, to all others which seem in any degree reserved for the English and ruling race. The claim has been quietly put aside by Lord Dufferin's government for the time, but it has not been abandoned by the agitators, and we are assured that it will be renewed and revived as soon as Lord Lansdowne has assumed office. It seems, therefore, opportune to examine the claim with some attention and see if anything can be said in its favour, and whether the difficulties and dangers which may accompany its concession would not outweigh any possible advantage which the Government might obtain by granting it.

It is indisputable that, under certain conditions, the formation of volunteer corps does stimulate loyalty and patriotism and encourages the growth and maintenance of a healthy, courageous spirit in the country. No one can doubt that in England these have been its results, or that the existence of the great army of citizen soldiers, notwithstanding admitted and remediable defects in training and weapons, has made a deep and beneficial impression upon foreign opinion, and has given to the country generally a well-founded confidence in the ability and public spirit of its voluntary defenders. Had the volunteer movement failed, as many competent critics prophesied, the Government would long ago have been compelled, in the presence of the vast standing armies of the Continent, to have increased our regular forces to a burthensome extent, or to have had recourse to methods of conscription which are specially distasteful to Englishmen, and which would have taken from us our chief industrial superiority over nations whose youth is systematically withdrawn from peaceful pursuits to the barren trade of war and preparation for war.

It is not less, but more necessary and desirable in India than in England to stimulate loyalty to the Government, to attach the varied populations to our rule, and to encourage by all practical or sentimental considerations the growth of a healthy public spirit in the people. The problem of engaging the chiefs and princes of India to assist in the defence of the country has constantly been before the Government, and, at the present time, experiments of great interest are being undertaken which will test not only the genuineness of the expressions of a desire for military co-operation on the part of the princes, but the practicability of utilizing the undisciplined mobs of badly armed and untrained retainers of Indian Courts, who figure in annual returns as native armies, but which are now almost useless for any military service. But experiments such as these, which merely concern the feudatory princes, and are meant to place upon those who owe their security and very

existence to British rule, a fair share of the burthen of the defence of India, have nothing in common with volunteer corps in British provinces. The argument for these is not influenced, as some English journalists seem to imagine, by the effort to utilize the existing forces of native States. Whether volunteering should or should not be encouraged depends on considerations which apply to it alone. It is for the Government to consider and decide whether in its own provinces the formation of volunteer corps would add to its strength or increase its difficulties; whether the demand so loudly made for them is genuine or factitious; whether it proceeds from a loyal, warlike class, who would come forward to enrol themselves, and who would be prepared, if necessary, to carry into effect on the battle-field the promises which are so glibly made on Congress platforms, or whether volunteering is but a political war cry, intended to embarrass the Government, uttered by men who have no military aptitude, who, in the whole long history of Hindostan, have never fought even for their own most personal interests, and who, there is every reason to believe, would never fight if it were safer to run away.

No Government which professes to be reasonable, and which desires and expects to be durable, can admit, on the part of the people it rules, any indefeasible right to form themselves into an armed and disciplined force separate from and not subject to the strict rules of the regular army. The claim is one which may be admitted or denied; but it is one on which the Government must reserve the right to decide. Where, as in England and Scotland, the system of administration is popular and democratic; where the sympathy of the vast majority is with law and order; where the people are penetrated with the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, and where there exists a full and reciprocal confidence between rulers and ruled, volunteering is heartily welcomed and encouraged as giving to the Government a strength and stability which no increase to the standing army would bring it in the same degree. But in Ireland,

where the majority, or at any rate a large minority, are directly hostile to the English connection, it has not been thought desirable to encourage volunteering; though I cannot but think that the time has come when the distinctions between loyalty and sedition in Ireland have been defined with sufficient clearness to allow the formation of volunteer corps confined to all those of known character and conduct, who would engage to uphold the supremacy of the Queen and the United Parliament. It is not well that any disabilities should attach to the open profession of loyalty. It should rather be encouraged by every suitable concession and distinction. In no State in Europe has the volunteer system taken root in the same manner as in England; and the more important Governments have preferred, as was their undoubted right, to place their whole armed force under far more direct and strict control than is possible with a voluntary citizen army.

If we turn to India, we find a country which, *prima facie*, would seem as unsuited for a volunteer system as any conceivable community. Lord Dufferin, in a speech delivered in Calcutta on the 30th of November last, and of which copious extracts have been telegraphed to *The Times*, has taken occasion to expound with much ability and clearness the exceptional position of India and the enormous difficulties of its administration. His object was to show the absurdity of the demand for representative government formulated by the very class—"the microscopic minority," as he terms it—who ask to be allowed to form volunteer corps. There are few who have been intimately concerned with the administration of India who will not rejoice that the departing Viceroy has, with no uncertain voice, condemned the methods and aims of the *sai-disant* National Congress, and our only regret is that this wise and statesmanlike denunciation of a mischievous agitation was not made sooner—before the seditious supporters of the movement had gained strength, and before the silence of the authorities had been mistaken for acquiescence, if not

approval. The beginning of strife is like the letting out of water, and, unless Indian agitators are plainly told the limits within which a too kindly and contemptuous Government permits their intrigues, we shall have a new and a far more troublesome Ireland in India.

All that Lord Dufferin has said with reference to the unsuitability of representative institutions for India applies to the adoption in that country of a volunteer system. In the first place there is no homogeneity in the people which would allow them to carry out a national movement to meet a national danger. There is in this vast continent no national spirit, nor is there any word in the vernacular languages with which I am acquainted to express the idea of patriotism. From Peshawar to the Bay of Bengal, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, there is no united and homogeneous people, but a succession of unconnected or slightly-connected tribes and races, speaking over one hundred distinct languages, professing different religions, and following dissimilar customs. The Hindus, who number 190 millions, have no common bond of union, and the Muhamadans, a body of fifty millions, are far more closely bound together than the Hindus by a creed which, in its strict ritual and pure theism, has a solidifying power which can never attach to the varied ceremonial and the innumerable gods of Hindu mythology. Hinduism, so far as it is a religion at all, and not a mere body of social rules devised to secure the supremacy of the priestly caste, is mere fetishism. There is, of course, an educated class which professes to find a somewhat thin and spiritless monotheism in the Vedas; but the peasant population, which education has so far hardly influenced, rises no higher in its theological ideas than the village deity represented by a vermilion-smeared stone in the forest. The character of the Indian population differs as greatly as their creeds and origin. There is nothing in common between the savage Afghan reared in the wild fastnesses beyond the Indus and the soft effeminate Bengali living in the rice swamps of the

Gangetic Delta. Sikhs, Rajputs, Mahrattas have equally little sympathy with the Bengalis and Madrasis, whom they despise as all warlike races despise those to whom they are superior in physique and courage. Even between those races which I have named as brave and warlike there is no sympathy. Ancient feuds have, no doubt, to be decently buried, in accordance with the commands of the rulers who have imposed the Pax Britannica on India, but they are not dead, and at any moment might be disinterred and given new life. The Sikh cordially hates the Afghan, and the Rajput dislikes and despises the Mahratta, who ruthlessly trampled upon the ancient principalities of Central India and Rajputana until the English interposed and compelled both parties to lay down their arms. Even if we look at the two great and most striking divisions of Indian life, the Hindus and Muhamadans, we have abundant evidence in ever-recurring disputes and tumult that there is a deep-rooted animosity between them, which only needs carelessness or timidity on the part of the authorities to burst into civil war. When such are the character of the people and the conditions which regulate their social life, it may readily be understood that volunteer soldiering might largely and instantly increase the difficulties of the Government, when the weapons of citizen soldiers would, in case of popular tumult, be only too gladly turned against those of a hostile tribe or creed.

Even so far as the Government itself is concerned and the attitude of the people with regard to it, there is no such assurance of active loyalty as to induce it to encourage the formation of volunteer levies under native officers, which is a constant condition of the demand, and without which the concession would probably be regarded as valueless.

The loyalty of India is a matter which it is difficult to test and gauge; the more so that it cannot be weighed in the same scales as those which we are accustomed to use in measuring the quality which goes by the same name in England. The rulers of India are obviously aliens and

conquerors, although there is a certain class of politicians with whom I have little sympathy, who endeavour to conceal and obscure the fact, and who seem to consider the long roll of victories and successes, diplomatic or in the field, which have built up the Indian Empire through the last century and a half, as disgraceful incidents in the history of the English nation. But however anxious some may be to find only shame in what healthier minds will accept as the most honourable monuments of national glory, the fact remains unchanged, namely, that we are the conquerors of India, having by force of arms, and mainly with the aid of the natives themselves, overthrown in succession all the warlike races under their most capable leaders, and have attained to the supremacy in the peninsula to which they aspired, and which the Mahrattas for a short time almost achieved. This central fact underlies the whole superstructure of Indian administration. We cannot safely ignore it, however much it may please some of us to talk of the free and enlightened suffrage of an educated people; of a free press or of representative institutions. The *ultima ratio* in India is force; and no amount of newspapers or free schools will make any difference in this respect. The union between the English and native races is like those mediæval marriages in which the bride and the bridegroom were separated by a naked sword. The clear recognition of this fact is in no way inconsistent with the most hearty and sincere endeavour to win the affection and esteem of the Indians, and to lead them by education and good government to such happiness as education and good government can give, which, after all, if we look nearer home, would seem to be not very extravagant in amount or degree. Nor will the frank recognition of this truth do us any harm with the races whom it is most our interest to conciliate. Most of my Indian service has been passed among the more warlike races—Afghans, Sikhs, Rajputs, and Mahrattas—and I can testify to the contempt with which they regard any suspicion of weakness, and their readiness to be governed by

those who have proved themselves their superiors in the art of war. They know little of, and care little for, the results of science and civilization; they lament the inexorable destiny which drives their children to school, and which places a pen in their hand instead of a sword. But they can respect force; and if force be tempered with justice and moderation, they render it a respectful and a sincere, if not a loyal, obedience. The strong races like to be ruled strongly; and the chief if not the only danger to our Indian Empire is timidity in its rulers, born of too eager self-questioning of the rights and wrongs of government, and the foolish desire to divest themselves of the very attributes of power which are necessarily associated with it in the Oriental imagination. It may generally be observed that those who are most anxious for self-government are those who are least competent to govern themselves and others, and that the strongest races are exactly those who most willingly submit to a wholesome discipline.

If, therefore, the question of the loyalty of India be considered, it must be remembered that we cannot fairly ask too much from a population altogether alien from ourselves in creed, language, customs, and sentiment; whom we have conquered, and who can only be expected to hold to us so long as we rule not only strongly but well. Our success has been very great, but the most difficult part of our work has yet to come, and the task of ruling India will be one of ever-increasing perplexity.

The difficulty has been increased by the hostile conduct of the very class which has most gained by our advent, and which, in accordance with a general law of human action, has shown itself the most ungrateful; the educated natives who have used the English teaching which has been gratuitously given them as an armoury to furnish weapons against us. I do not think that India is to-day as loyal as it was ten or five years ago. I firmly believe, and I think that many competent observers will agree with me, that the unlimited license weakly permitted to the native press,

English and vernacular, has had a distinctly prejudicial effect upon the temper of the people, not only in Bengal, where the character of the race renders their hostility less dangerous, but in the most important districts of India, such as the Punjab, which was formerly famous for its hearty goodwill, and where, ten or twenty years ago, the open expression of hostile and seditious sentiment was unknown. It will be an evil day for India if we permit this province, the gallant spirit of which enabled us to reconquer India in 1857, and which is still the most important recruiting ground of our army, to be honeycombed by the seditious societies which have their home and origin in Bengal, and which are the curse of the country as they are its greatest danger. The native press of Bengal may not unfairly be compared with the Nationalist press of Ireland. There is the same vilification of English officials from the Viceroy downwards, and a constant misrepresentation of the action and motives of the Government, which is systematically held up to hatred and contempt. Nor is the evil confined to the Lower Provinces; for Bengali editors set up their venomous newspapers in the most distant districts, and Lahore or Ajmere or Hyderabad has the benefit of their ill-tempered ravings as impartially as Calcutta. The journals are of the lowest class, both in ability and honesty. They subsist by blackmail, the subsidies of those who fear to be attacked or the bribes of those who desire to attack others, and there is a regular system of contributions levied from native States, where the only crimes and maladministration denounced are those for the concealment of which no money has been paid. It is a mockery to associate the permitted existence of these pestilent journals with the liberty of the press. They are an unmitigated nuisance, and the mischief they do is incalculable. They should be reduced to decency by very sharp and drastic methods, and if they declined to reform they should be summarily repressed. It was a mistake to confer the liberty of the press upon India at all. It is an

institution only suited for free, enlightened, and constitutional communities, such as England and France, and is an anomaly and a danger in a country like India, where the administration, however beneficent, is still a despotism, and where the superficially educated class is hostile to the Government, or, if not hostile, is still so unstable and weak-minded as to render its members altogether unfit to be the leaders and instructors of the people. Of the many mischievous acts of Mr. Gladstone—in which the power and prestige of the country have been sacrificed to false sentiment—there is probably none that has been more productive of evil than the repeal of Lord Lytton's wholesome Vernacular Press Act, which, although used with extreme moderation, still placed some restraint on the open preaching of sedition. I know nothing which is viewed by well-disposed natives with more astonishment and disgust than the impunity enjoyed by hostile libellers of the authorities. The Government gains no credit for its generous tolerance of treason, and is only held to be weak and timid. India is not a country where lighted candles can be safely carried into powder magazines.

It is this conviction which adds so much sharpness to the regret that Lord Dufferin's lecture on loyalty and moderation should have been reserved, like a Parthian arrow, for the moment of his departure, although those who best know the temper of the country have long urged his Government to speak frankly and act boldly, and discourage, if not stamp out, the seditious agitation and the venomous misrepresentation of the native press. Let Lord Lansdowne take warning—if, indeed, it be possible for a Viceroy to accept the experience and profit by the failures of his predecessors. Who more amiable or more fortified with good intentions than Lord Ripon? Yet no Viceroy has done India more lasting injury. Refusing the teaching of experience; insisting upon viewing all Indian politics through theoretical spectacles, he excited the unreasonable hopes and even the dangerous passions of the people by ill-con-

considered promises which he was unable to fulfil, and indeed made no attempt to fulfil. He left India in a cloud of unredeemed pledges, and bequeathed to his unfortunate successor the impossible task of persuading the classes, whose hopes had been so unduly raised, to accept cheerfully the very little which statesmanship could offer them. Lord Ripon did far less than Lord Dufferin has done to satisfy reasonable claims and aspirations, but, with a semi-educated class, whose political training has not sufficiently advanced to distinguish the shadow from the substance, the judicious moderation of the latter is unfavourably compared with the highly-coloured hopes held out to them by the former.

The future of the British Empire in India will largely depend upon the attitude which the new Viceroy adopts towards the noisy demagogues who, if they were allowed their way, and if their extravagant demands were encouraged, would soon make the government of India by England impossible. Let him, undeterred by clamour and misrepresentation, work honestly and sincerely for the best good of the people of India, who are not in agreement with the agitators who pretend to speak in their name. Let him, remembering his duty to England and the official class, English and native, who bear the burthen of the administration of the country, suppress and punish the seditious calumniators who are spreading broadcast the seeds of discontent and suspicion, and he will earn the lasting respect of all those who love India and desire her advancement and prosperity.

The loyalty of the ruling princes of India is altogether different, both in kind and degree, from that of the inhabitants of British India, and their inclusion in any scheme of military defence does not affect the question of the propriety of the volunteering of British subjects. I believe that the great majority of chiefs are firmly attached to the Government of the Queen, and that they may be trusted to remain faithful to it in critical times, and do all in their power to assist it to repel attack from without. There are strains to

which the loyalty of no alien race can be fairly exposed; but there is no reason to believe that any such test will be required of them. I am not one of those who believe that Russia, who only overcame Turkey by treachery and the help of her Roumanian allies, could measure herself with any chance of success against the wealth, power, and civilization, of England although a wise statesmanship will always regard the Asiatic policy of Russia with suspicion.

The position of the princes of India with reference to a general scheme of defence; the part which should be assigned to them, and the manner in which the susceptibilities of each should be considered, are subjects of great interest and importance, but I have no space to devote to them in the present article, and must return to them on a future occasion. But when discussing Indian volunteers and Indian loyalty, it is impossible to omit all mention of the chiefs and the utilization of their forces in the defence of the country. Although native armies, with a few noteworthy exceptions, as those of the Punjab, are at present worthless for military co-operation, from want of discipline, and the possession of obsolete weapons, they contain excellent raw material, in many cases identical with that which forms the substance of our own regular army; while in the States of Rajputana there is an almost inexhaustible supply of hereditary warriors who do not as yet enlist in our regiments, but who would be content to serve in irregular cavalry corps under their own chiefs and kinsmen. The experiment which is about to be tried by the Government of India of highly training, and arming with weapons of precision certain portions of the forces of selected native states is one which I have for many years advocated, and it received a fair and successful trial in 1878-79, during the first Afghan campaign, when, on the recommendation of Sir Robert Egerton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the States of Patiala, Bahawalpur, Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthulla, Faridkot, Malerkotla, and Nahan sent contingents to the frontier of the Bannu

and Kohat districts, the only English officers attached to them being General Watson, V.C., and Major Frank Burton. The doubts which had been expressed as to their creditably holding their own, either in line with regiments of the Indian army or on detached and independent duty, were shown to be unfounded; and after some instruction in the use of the new rifles supplied, they proved themselves fully competent to perform all the duties which could be asked of soldiers, and relieved the Kuram Division of very onerous work; while their conduct and discipline were excellent. It must not be imagined that the forces of Central India and Rajputana would be, without long training, as efficient as those of the Punjab States; but a good deal might be made of them with care and patience. It will also be necessary to only utilize such forces as are recruited in the States to which they belong, and who, by family ties, hereditary loyalty, and personal interest, are likely to follow, in critical times, the flag of their prince. Many of the armies of Central India consist of mere mercenaries, hired from distant parts of India, and whose fidelity is not to be relied upon, as the chief has no certain hold upon them. Such was the famous army of the late Maharaja Sindhia, the prince with more military aptitude than any other in India. He was popularly supposed to pass the greater part of his adult population through the ranks; but this was an entire mistake. His troops were almost entirely foreigners; and he has often told me that he could not trust them to march one hundred miles towards the Peshawar frontier without deserting.

But to return to the subject of volunteering in British provinces. Assuming that the native princes are loyal, and that the mass of the cultivating community are content with our rule, I cannot but think that the only classes whom volunteer corps would attract are those whose loyalty would be of a far more flimsy material—for the reason that they would be the least influenced by the example or subject to the authority of the native gentry or nobility, and they

would thus have no impulse from above to keep them straight. The volunteer agitation is confined to Calcutta, Madras, and a few of the larger up-country cities, such as Lahore, where it is fiercely fanned by the local Babu-edited newspaper which has all the bad tendencies of its species. In Calcutta and Madras the demand is ridiculous.

The Bengali Baboo is not a fighter, and is fond of proclaiming himself a coward. If we were to withhold from the Bengalis our strong protection they would be at once subjugated and enslaved by the first invader who chose to descend from the Northern Provinces. The Madrasis, so far as I have heard of them or seen them in the field, are not, as soldiers, fit to meet any of the warlike races of India or a European enemy, and to encourage them to do so would only be to invite certain disaster. In Bombay the Parsis might be treated exceptionally, as foreigners whose very existence depends upon English supremacy and whose loyalty is above suspicion. But this intelligent race is devoted to commercial pursuits, and I doubt whether they would take to volunteering with any spirit. They are not, and do not profess to be, a fighting race. Putting aside Calcutta and Madras as beyond reasonable discussion, let us for a moment practically test the volunteer demand by applying it to a northern city like Lahore; although the Punjab is the province where the system, if successful, would be most inconvenient, seeing that it is our principal recruiting ground, and it would be undesirable to interfere with the supply; while so large a portion of the regular army is cantoned in the province that native volunteers are less needed than elsewhere. The population is contented, industrious, and warlike, and sufficiently brave and physically strong to make efficient volunteers. But I am convinced, from a very intimate knowledge of the Punjab, that no volunteer corps could be raised there which would not be partly contemptible and partly dangerous. Of whom would they consist? In the first place we must exclude the whole of the fighting population; the

cultivators, the small landowners, and the artizans: the Jat Sikhs and the Punjabi Muhamadans. These respectable and worthy men have as much as they can do to keep themselves and their families by manual labour, which commences at dawn and is often continued far into the night, without wasting their time in playing at soldiers to satisfy the vanity of Bengali Baboos. Already is there a difficulty experienced in obtaining these men as recruits for the army at the present rates of pay. Not one of them, from Peshawar to Delhi, would become a volunteer and undergo the labour of service without its reward. Nor, in any case, or for any wages, would they consent to serve with or be commanded by the unwarlike castes whose members encourage the present agitation.

The next large and important class consists of the trading and commercial castes, the Bannias, Aroras, Khojahs, and the like. What have these castes to do with arms? Not a single member would join the volunteers. The religious, vagrant, and menial classes would be, as a matter of course, excluded, and all that would remain available would be the professional race of clerks and writers who, with a certain amount of superficial education, English or vernacular, are still the most ambitious, discontented, and unsettled of all classes in India, and the very last to whom arms should be given without a strict and constant supervision and control. To these may be added a few of the discontented scions of good families, dissipated young men who have added European to Oriental vices, and who are to be found in considerable numbers in all cities which have formerly been the seat of a native Court. It is doubtful whether these would join, for they would not be accepted as officers by the English educated class, nor would their pride allow them to accept any subordinate position. The exclusive and jealous isolation of the Indian castes is extreme, and their immemorial rules of precedence and social observance will absolutely forbid any cohesion in a native volunteer corps.

The fighting races are, indeed, and have been through all historic times, ready to sell their swords to any master for a sufficient wage. But patriotism is an unknown idea; and it would be as easy to persuade a Lahore shoemaker to make shoes without pay as a Sikh to become an unpaid volunteer.

The principal classes which would then, in the Punjab, fill the ranks of the volunteers are precisely those of which the least use for military purposes could be made. Every occupation in India is hereditary, and bravery and military skill and fidelity are, by unbroken prescription, attached to warlike races like the Sikhs, Afghans, Rajputs, and Ghurkas. The cowardice of the Bannia or the Káyath, is not, in popular repute, disgraceful; for it has been as consecrated by prescription as the prostitution of the Kanchan. Vices and failings as well as virtues and accomplishments enjoy in India hereditary honours.

As it would be impossible to form volunteer companies in rural districts, inhabited alone by the agricultural classes, who neither would nor could serve gratuitously, the movement would be confined to the towns where there is more inclination and temptation to disaffection than in the country, and where, in times of trouble, there is always most cause for anxiety. I have no official acquaintance with the great cities of the North-Western Provinces, but the attitude and bearing of their population have often struck me as unfriendly, and I have very much doubt if any responsible official would recommend the formation of native volunteer corps in Allahabad, Lucknow, Moradabad, Cawnpore, or Bareilly.

The *raison d'être* of the volunteers in England was defence against invasion. For this purpose native volunteers would be useless, and would add nothing to our military strength. To increase this we must utilize the armies of the native princes.

The *raison d'être* of the English volunteers in India, of whom there are numerous corps composed entirely of

Europeans and Eurasians, is the protection of the European community in times of trouble against the attacks of the ill-disposed portion of the native population. There is an incidental advantage to the Government, which the volunteers themselves would probably deprecate, of setting free for general duty such military detachments as would otherwise have to be maintained for the protection of Europeans. Their utility would only be manifest on the occurrence of some great calamity or shock to the English power similar to that of the Mutiny, which, however much we may disbelieve in its recurrence, should still, in wisdom, be guarded against. For this object, too, the native volunteers would be useless, seeing that they would, more probably than not, swell the ranks of the classes against whom the English volunteers would have to defend themselves.

The plea which is advanced by the native advocates of the measure, that the well-disposed and orderly part of the native population should be allowed to arm itself against the disorderly and criminal, is of little weight; for unless the British Government is prepared, by its magisterial and police arrangements, to maintain, as it has hitherto maintained, internal peace in India, it is unworthy the name of a civilized Government, and this essential function cannot be entrusted to other hands than its own. If it be finally urged that in 1857 the wealthy and orderly natives were exposed to attack from the predatory and criminal classes, I can only express my belief that against such attack native volunteers would make no stand, and it would be a *reductio ad absurdum* to place the only intelligible argument in favour of native volunteers, on the ground that, in the event of a general rising against the English power, the native clerks in our offices might be able to defend themselves against their fellow-countrymen.

If the advocates of the measure rest their argument on the necessity of the Government demonstrating its confidence in the Indian population, they might as reasonably claim the abolition of the existing English volunteer corps

which have been directly raised, and are now on all sides encouraged, as a sensible expression of the necessary distrust which must be felt by a few thousands of a ruling race in the midst of 250 millions of natives with whom they cannot fully sympathize and by whom they are only partially understood.

Should the Government, at any future time, in a moment of weakness, concede the desired permission to enrol native volunteer corps, the race feeling between English and Indians will be only intensified, and the native attitude become more hostile to those who represent authority. In any case the native and European corps would have to be distinct. Were the Government to endeavour to force natives into English corps, a violent European agitation would be the instant result, and this useful auxiliary force would cease to exist. Yet if natives were confined to their own corps, they would consider their exclusion from the English ranks as a new illustration of the hostile and suspicious feeling with which they were regarded by their English fellow-subjects, and the concession which the Government had extended as an olive branch would become a very sword.

Whether the native volunteer movement succeeded or whether it failed, it would be equally impolitic and dangerous. The volunteer system (putting aside the exceptional conditions of the English corps in India) is alone suited to a constitutional country where the vast majority of the people are in sympathy with the Government and respect the law. Nothing could so diminish the influence and authority of the British Government in India as for it, deliberately and without the justification of necessity, to surrender any portion of that material force, which in the eyes of the common people is its chief title to respect, into the hands of men unconnected with its administration, and, so far as their public utterances show, opposed, on many questions of vital importance, to the principles which it asserts.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

THE MARCH OF THE MONGOL.

"*UNE quantité négligeable*" !—That astute diplomatist and able and far-seeing statesman, the Marquis Tseng, who till recently represented the Son of Heaven in Paris and in London, must have laughed in his sleeve as he listened to the above cynical definition of his country from the mouth of his French *confrère*. And the reflections of the French statesman must have been far from enviable, when, as the direct consequence of his fatuous ignorance, thousands upon thousands of the finest soldiers of France lay dying and rotting in the pestilential swamps of Tonquin, baffled and confounded, not so much by the reckless courage of an undisciplined enemy—a courage begotten more of fatalism than patriotism—as by that game of masterly inactivity which the Chinese generals understood as well as the Roman strategist whose tactics won him the appropriate surname of Cunctator. The conditions being changed, and the overpowering heat and deadly miasma of the Tonquin climate being substituted for the piercing cold of a Crimean winter, we may say in words the converse of that grim metaphor of Nicholas of Russia, that the Chinese leaders trusted—not in "General Février," as the czar said he did—but in those still more ghastly messengers of death, the destroying angels, Pestilence and Fever. And they trusted not in vain. When, later on in the campaign, wearied, despairing, and exhausted with the hopeless struggle, the French Government were modest enough to put in a claim for a war indemnity of £10,000,000, as the basis of a treaty of peace; and when the Marquis Tseng treated the claim with a polite mockery and a courteous yet scathing scorn, which must have sorely galled the supersensitive feelings of the proud nation whose Government had made the

claim; and when, last of all, France was compelled to accept from China conditions of peace embodied in a treaty which has been the laughing-stock of diplomatic Europe—then indeed the statesmen of the West were rudely startled from their apathetic sleep and suddenly awakened to the fact that there had arisen among them, not only a diplomatist of transcendent ability, of untiring patience and indomitable persistency and strength of will, but also a statesman who could grapple with them on their own ground and not without success.

When a statesman of the standing of M. Jules Ferry publicly proclaims the extent of his knowledge of the great Empire of the East by defining it as "*Une quantité négligeable*," I trust I may not be thought to be taking an unwarrantable liberty with the well-known reputation for general intelligence for which, as a nation, we are so justly famed, by suggesting in the baldest outline a few of those circumstances which ought to make the existing chrysalis-like condition of China, to us, as the leading commercial nation of the world, an object, at the present moment, of peculiar and paramount interest.

It is a characteristic of the British nation, that when once convinced of the truth of a general principle, it treats that principle as absolute, unalterable, axiomatic, and it barricades and entrenches itself so impreguably behind its own belief in that principle, that prove as indisputably and as logically as you please that the principle is relative and not absolute, that the circumstances are changed and the conditions altered which formerly rendered the conviction true and unassailable—batter and thunder as you may against the ramparts of prejudice and bigotry, the effect is almost if not altogether imperceptible, until some cataclysm occurs which, often too late for us to benefit by our conversion, in one moment shatters and shivers in pieces the entire superstructure of absolute, unalterable, and axiomatic truth. Instances without number will occur to every thinking man.

If one may judge from the dogmatic expression of opinion which the mere mention of the word China almost invariably calls forth, it seems still to be regarded by most of us as an incontrovertible truth, that the policy of China is yet regulated, as it certainly was formerly, by a spirit of exclusiveness as haughty as it is blind, by an unfathomable and ineradicable hatred of all change synonymous with progress, by an inveterate and uncompromising hostility to the ideas of Western civilization, and in fact by a ridiculous and, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, an extinct Conservatism.

In the face of this somewhat sweeping indictment of China and her policy it may seem rather an arduous if not presumptuous undertaking to endeavour to show that between thirty and forty years ago China set out on a march of progress, and has ever since been steadily advancing, slowly, it is true, at first, but on that account none the less surely and safely, and then as years rolled on, and the deeply rooted prejudices, the growth of countless ages, were gradually overcome, more confidently, and consequently less slowly, until, since the close of the French war in 1885, the ratio of progress has become one of ever-increasing acceleration, so that it seems as if the country which can boast a civilization—worn out though it may be—more ancient than that of any in the world, was about to throw off the remaining shackles which have for many centuries effectually fettered its progress and development.

The advance of China is a subject so vast, that all that I can hope to do here will be to indicate as briefly as possible some of those outstanding instances which may be supposed specially to interest us, either from their political significance or from their bearing on the future of foreign intercourse with and enterprise in China, and on the extension of our commerce with a market of which we have as yet only touched the fringe.

In the year 1854 the huge and elaborate Customs

Service of China became utterly paralyzed by that strangest of all risings, the great Taiping Rebellion, which,—after one of the bloodiest struggles the world has ever witnessed, causing, during the fifteen years it ran its course, carnage unparalleled in history, and the slaughter of twenty million human beings,—was quelled by Gordon and his "Ever victorious army." Consequent on the confusion which ensued shortly after the outbreak of the rebellion, it was hinted to the Central Government at Peking that in the then totally disorganized state of the Empire, when the revenue was being embezzled as fast as it was collected (where collection was possible), it would be for the great advantage of the Imperial Government to dismiss the native collectors and appoint trustworthy foreigners in their room. The Government was too timid to agree to so sweeping and sudden a change, but decided as an experiment to place three foreigners at the head of the Customs department at Shanghai, and the Peking authorities very soon found that the revenue which they received from the Customs under foreign control was so enormously greater than it had formerly been, that the collection of the entire Customs revenue derivable from goods carried in foreign bottoms has gradually been transferred from native to foreign control, and the Imperial Maritime Customs of China is now, thanks to the untiring efforts and great ability of Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Customs resident at Peking, a highly organized, liberally paid, and much-sought-after service; while the influence of Sir Robert Hart with the Chinese Government is far greater than that of any other foreigner in the Empire. One among the many great services which he has rendered us, as the principal carrying nation of the world, has been his persistent advice to the Chinese Government to lay out a considerable portion of the annual surplus of the Customs revenue in erecting lighthouses along their immense seaboard, and the result is that there are now few better-lit coasts than that of China.

The last convert to the new order of things, whom the enlightened policy of the Central Government has made, is no less a personage than Prince Chun, the father of the present Emperor Kwang-Su. He lately visited several of the Treaty Ports, and manifested the greatest interest in all that he saw of Western life and civilization. The weight of his vast influence thrown into the scale of progress is, owing to Prince Chun's exalted position and recognized ability, a factor of immense value in the onward stride of the immediate future. A reference to the *father* of the Emperor almost invites a word of explanation. The succession to the throne of China is not, as might be supposed, absolutely and strictly hereditary, though for natural reasons it is usually so. The reigning Emperor possesses the right of electing his successor, but with the view of preventing palace intrigues, the name of the successor is never divulged till the day on which the will of the dead monarch is read. The last Emperor Tung-chi, who died young, had not elected a successor, but Kwang-Su, a mere child then, was chosen by the Empress Dowager—a person of extraordinary ability and strength of mind—with the view of securing for herself a long lease of the regency, and no one could have put that power to a better use.

The question of the introduction of railways in China is one which, from its momentous importance, almost necessitates separate treatment, and I therefore dismiss it, for the present at least, devoting a few words, however, to the railway forerunner, the telegraph. We constantly hear long-headed, far-seeing, and keen-witted men of business anathematizing the telegraph in terms the reverse of measured, as a ruthless leveller which has done much to destroy the premium which formerly existed on the then invaluable business talent of accurately forecasting events; but at the same time it cannot be denied that if the telegraph does to a considerable extent place men of all degrees of business calibre on one level, to the disadvantage of men of con-

spicuous ability, still, by its very tendency to increase competition and consequently to diminish profit, it becomes a most powerful agent in developing and stimulating the commerce of a country. Looking, then, at the question from this point of view, it is a sign of the times in China that there have been erected within the last year or two many thousand miles of wire, radiating through the Empire in all directions, and it is now equally possible for any one in this country, who may be so inclined, to telegraph to Peking, the capital, or Chungking, the principal town of the rich and fertile province of Szechuen, a city nearly fifteen hundred miles in the interior of China. These are only instances. The Imperial Government having now grasped the value to itself of the telegraph as an instantaneous means of communication throughout the vast extent of territory owning its supremacy, is proceeding with the extension of the present telegraph system on a scale which may shortly astonish even some of our go-ahead American relatives. The introduction of the telegraph is attended with few of the difficulties and dangers which beset the construction of railways in China, a circumstance which accounts for the marvellously rapid progress of telegraph construction while railway construction flags—for the moment.

The telegraph suggests newspapers, and railways suggest steamers.

In regard to newspapers it may be remarked that the *Peking Gazette*—to which every other journal in the world is but a thing of yesterday—is merely the official organ of the Imperial Government, and contains little else than proclamations and edicts, copies of petitions from Provincial Governors, with official or Imperial critiques thereon, notices of sentences on political offenders, and an immense amount of kindred matter. The circulation, it is true, is large, but the value of this Father of the Press as an instrument for educating the people is practically nil. Newspapers in China are still in a state of embryo, but it

is significant that the daily native newspapers which have been started under the guidance of foreigners at Shanghai and Hong Kong are not only read with absorbing interest by the Chinese in these two places, but are conveyed in ever-increasing numbers into the interior where their contents are devoured with the intensest avidity.

Turning for a moment to notice the facilities for commerce provided by steam communication, we may pass over all mention of the ocean lines engaged in the intercontinental trade between China, Europe, and America, as they contribute for the most part only indirectly to the local and internal commerce of the Empire, but it is worthy of remark that the inter-Treaty Port commerce is served by a large fleet of foreign built vessels, mostly steamers. The total coast trade (foreign built) tonnage, outwards and inwards, cleared in 1886 amounted to close on 17,000,000 tons. An important factor in this great fleet is the *native* China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, which deserves a word of notice from the laudable though financially unsuccessful idea which that Company embodies. The China Merchants Steam Navigation Company is the outcome of an endeavour, on the part of a number of wealthy native merchants and officials, to prove that the Chinese are as capable of successfully managing such enterprises as foreigners are. A large number of steamers were taken over from a foreign house, but so impossible is it to secure honest native management in any corporate undertaking in China where officials are concerned, that from a dividend point of view the Company has proved a complete failure, and, in fact, it is supposed to be a helpless tool in the hands of a clique of native officials, and it is believed to be used by them as an instrument for their own private aggrandisement. The name, however, of at least one official of the highest rank interested in the Company—whose reputation for intelligence and patriotism, enlightenment and honesty, has long been as great among foreigners in China as among the Chinese themselves—must be held to be above all suspicion.

The mention of this Company calls to mind an incident of the last war, wherein Chinese craft and quick-wittedness foiled French covetousness. The French cruisers naturally expected to find in the large fleet of the China Merchants Company as easy a prey as it would be a valuable prize. Their consternation may be imagined when, immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, they saw the whole fleet running as regularly as ever, but under the protection of the flag of the United States, the Chinese stating in the blandest possible way that they had just sold the entire concern to an American house. Whatever the business transaction was, one thing is certain, viz., that immediately after the cessation of hostilities, to the no little amusement of the foreign community—always excepting its Gallic contingent—the Stars and Stripes vanished as suddenly as they had appeared, and the great Dragon Flag of China was once again seen waving proudly as of yore, while many an impenetrable, sphinx-like Chinese countenance, for once at least, relaxed in a sardonic grin of triumph.

The immense advantage which the Central Government is well aware accrues to itself from the foreign control of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and the complete financial failure as regards the shareholders of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, under native management (notwithstanding its privileges), are two phases of the same question, viz., that of the expediency of the employment of foreigners, which are not likely to be lost sight of by the Government in the developing and opening up of the Empire.

Perhaps the most significant movement of all in the direction of the commercial regeneration of China is the comparatively recent modification in the fiscal economy of the Empire which deals with the internal taxation of commerce; and to us, as a great trading nation, the significance of any concession pointing to a radical reform of the system can scarcely be overrated. I do not suppose it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive a system of taxation more

admirably adapted for the successful garrotting of commerce than the *Likin* scheme of China, and I firmly believe we may hold that scheme, far more than any other cause, accountable for the insignificance of the foreign trade of China; for paltry and insignificant it is when we consider what it might be, and what in the future it must be.

Hong Kong being a free port, and there being an immense junk trade between it and some of the southern Treaty Ports, more especially Canton, we unfortunately find ourselves baffled in an attempt to arrive at a correct estimate of the foreign commerce of the Empire, a large proportion of which is with Great Britain or her colonies. Bearing this fact in mind, then, we find that the foreign commerce of the Empire which comes within the jurisdiction of the Imperial Maritime Customs (that is to say, all foreign merchandise imported either directly from a foreign country or through the medium of Hong Kong in foreign built vessels at any and all of the twenty-two Treaty Ports) amounted in 1886 to the hitherto unequalled value of 165,000,000 Haikwan taels, equivalent at the present low rate of exchange to a little over £41,000,000. For the same year the foreign commerce of India amounted to about £107,000,000, taking the rupee at the *actual* and not the *conventional* rate of exchange.

Making full allowance for the *role* which railways have played in the development of the commerce of India—and be it remembered that against these railways China possesses to some extent an equivalent in its magnificent waterways—when we consider that the extent of the British Empire in India, including Burmah and all the feudatory provinces, is almost the same as that of the eighteen provinces *alone* of China Proper, leaving out altogether the three millions of square miles embraced under Thibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, &c., which dependencies all go to make up the grand total of the Chinese Empire; when we consider the density of the population in these eighteen provinces—taking the total population of

China Proper at the estimate of 389,000,000, as given by the Imperial Maritime Statisticians, assisted by the best native authorities, and the extent at 1,350,000 square miles, the average density comes out at 288 per square mile, while in Kwangtung and the valley of the Yangste it is far greater, in Yunnan and other mountainous provinces much less;—when we consider that the average agricultural productiveness of the eighteen provinces is, to say the least, equal to that of India, while in mineral wealth China is infinitely the richer of the two; and when we consider, finally, that the vast superiority in quantity of population which goes to the credit of China is as nothing when compared with the immeasurable superiority in quality—for the *feckless* Hindoo is not to be mentioned in the same breath with the able Mongolian, whose transcendent capacity for business is now acknowledged; when we consider all this, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves the conclusion that we have as yet only touched the fringe of a market for our commerce such as the most sanguine have hardly dared to dream of.

If, then, as I hold, the comparative insignificance of our commerce with China is in a great measure due to the assassinating effect upon it of the internal scheme of taxation, any modification in the working of that commerce throttling system must be adjudged by us as of vital importance, not so much, perhaps, intrinsically as in the promise which every such concession or reform holds out for the ultimate destruction of the entire baneful system. The only wonder is that *Likin*—which, by the way, was introduced into China some fifty or sixty years ago for temporary purposes, but, like our own Income Tax, has developed into a permanent fiscal parasite—has not smothered more effectually than it has done the stupendous local native trade of the interior; and the fact that it has only curbed instead of having stifled it, is a lasting monument to the ineradicable mercantile proclivities of the Chinese.

But what is this *Likin* system, and what is its mode of

action? Simple in the extreme. All the trade routes in China, river, canal, and overland, are dotted with countless "customs barriers," and at each successive barrier merchandise is taxed anew. Bad enough in all surety, but worse still, the impost partakes of a dual nature. Primarily the goods have to pay the Government tax, whatever that may be, and in the second place they are compelled to submit to the exaction of an uncertain charge, the amount of which depends entirely on the rapacity of the respective officials in whose jurisdiction the "barrier" lies—a rapacity which becomes far more an *ad valorem* tax on the power of the native merchant to pay than any definite calculable charge on the merchandise itself. The difficulties with which the trade of the interior has to contend will be grasped at once when it is realized—and this is only one out of numberless similar instances which might be given—that on the great West River trade route between Canton and Pesé, a distance of nine hundred miles, merchandise has to run the gauntlet of nearly one hundred "customs barriers." Further comment is superfluous.

Now the modification of the *Likin* system which has been introduced is certainly important in itself, and in its effect and bearings on the foreign commerce of the Empire as evidenced by the increasing amount of imported merchandise now finding its way into the interior, but it is far more important as evidencing on the part of the Central Government an appreciation of the stagnating influence on trade of the existing scheme of internal taxation, as showing, though the suggestion came from the foreigner, an earnest desire to reform and improve it; and, lastly, as proving beyond all cavil the *power* of the Central Government to take so important a step in the face of the virulent opposition which the proposal would elicit, from the serried ranks of Provincial Governors and officials of all grades. But the Central Government showed great wisdom in not suddenly introducing too violent a reform, and without any

warning, attempting to crush and sweep away the entire system, utterly abominable though it be—a step which, had it been taken precipitately, would probably have entailed the lasting hostility of the present generation of provincial officials, whose salaries amount to next to nothing, but whose perquisites and emoluments in the form of “squeezes” are incalculable.

The Imperial Government therefore contented itself with enacting that any merchant, native or foreign, on the additional payment of a duty equal to one-half of the usual 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on foreign merchandise imported at any of the Treaty Ports, *i.e.*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in all, might demand a “Transit Pass” which should entitle him to send his goods to the place specified in the Pass, *while it freed them from all Likin charges*, and it is of no consequence whether the place named in the Transit Pass be one mile or thousands of miles from the Treaty Port where the Pass was issued. And it was also enacted that the same privileges should apply to native merchandise on its way to a Treaty Port, *provided always that the said merchandise was intended for export to a foreign country.*

Now this would be a great point gained, if it were for no other reason than that of its being the insertion of the thin end of the wedge, which will at no distant date destroy the entire detestable system. But before proceeding to show—and a single instance must suffice—the very important practical bearing which this concession is having on the distribution of foreign merchandise in the interior of the Empire, I may be permitted to emphasize the two points wherein the reform, valuable though it be, falls far short of the necessary revolution in the fiscal economy. First, then, the entire internal junk and overland trade in native produce and manufactures, *not intended for export*, is excluded from all benefit in this arrangement. The foreign trade of China is a mere bagatelle when compared with what must be the local trade of a country teeming with a population of 400,000,000, and possessing a soil of such marvellous

productiveness. I do not here speak of the incalculable mineral wealth, the extraordinary evidences of which all travellers report, as that is for various reasons as yet almost untouched and undeveloped.

We can only form an idea—faint and dim, it is true—of what the local commerce is from the statistics available of the *inter-Treaty Port* trade in native and foreign produce, carried on by means of foreign built vessels, including those of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company. We find, then, that the total value of this commerce in 1886 amounted to nearly 312,000,000 Haikwan taels, or £78,000,000—that is to say, almost double the value of the entire foreign commerce of China, which amounted for the same year to about £41,000,000. When we reflect that there are at present but twenty-two ports in China open to a foreign flag, and when we realize the almost inconceivable importance to commerce of the facilities for internal trade offered by the unparalleled magnitude and extent of the water highways of the interior, the imagination completely fails in any endeavour to forecast the future of the local trade of China when open to and stimulated by Western enterprise.

As an example of the value which the native merchants attach to the change in the *Likin* system, it is a well-known fact that large quantities of sugar grown near to and refined at Swatow (a Treaty Port situated in the sugar-growing district), when intended for consumption in the interior, are first of all shipped by native merchants to the British Colony of Hong-Kong (where there are also a number of sugar refineries, engaged largely in the refining of sugar from Java, &c.), and then reshipped to a Treaty Port as a *foreign* article. The sugar then pays the 5 per cent. import duty on *foreign* merchandise, also the 2½ per cent transit duty, and thus gains access to the interior freed from *Likin* extortion! The same game is played with sugar from Formosa.

But the second point in which the concession falls

short of the desirable; is this, that the protection of the Transit Pass extends to the merchandise only so long as it finds a market at the *exact* place named in the Pass, otherwise the Pass is held null and void, and the merchandise becomes at once liable to all the *Likin* dues, which it would have escaped had it found a market at the original destination. The fettering influence of this condition on all speculative business is at once apparent. I can quite understand why the Central Government should have shrunk from the conflict with its provincial officers, which might have ensued on the total, sudden abolition of the *Likin*, but the reason for the second cramping condition is not so apparent, though it was probably a temporary sop thrown to the provincial officials.

It is almost needless to say that the "Transit Pass" department, having been placed under the control of the Imperial Maritime Customs—that is to say, of foreigners—the working of the system has resulted in a considerable increase of revenue to the Central Government.

I proceed now to give one example of the effect of the Transit Pass on the distribution of foreign merchandise. Till within the last few years China imported almost no illuminating oil; but our American friends, having, with that praiseworthy spirit of enterprise for which they are noted, tried the experiment of one or two cargoes, and the Chinese at once appreciating the superiority of the light over that given out by the miserable flicker of a shred of cotton dipped in native bean oil, have gone on increasing the ratio of their import with a rapidity which speaks volumes, not only for the facility with which the Chinese take to a foreign product when it suits them, but also for the effectiveness of the Transit Pass. In 1885 America sent 14,000,000 gallons of kerosene to Shanghai. It is unnecessary to call any further attention to the significance which attaches to the statistics embodied in the following table, but it certainly looks as if the day of small things in China were about to pass away.

Table showing the quantity of petroleum in gallons sent into the interior under Transit Pass, from the following *Distributing Treaty Ports*, for the four years ending 1885:—

PORTS.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Shanghai	305,350	744,590	1,056,640	5,189,330
Ningpo	217,750	230,800	269,030	351,310
Chinkiang	111,520	195,991	511,770	757,362
Wuhu	16,730	39,680	146,990	265,470
Kiukiang	2,300	23,502	93,820	287,520
Hankow	118,370	269,077	1,048,820	1,827,810
Total	772,020	1,503,640	4,147,070	6,678,702

There is one further point in connection with the transit trade which deserves a word of notice. For several years after the introduction of the Transit Pass, the amount of foreign merchandise sent into the interior went on increasing by leaps and bounds, and then, suddenly and unaccountably, from several of the Treaty Ports, there set in a retrograde movement. This was naturally disappointing, and was, in fact, hailed by many, who looked only on the surface, as a proof that the transit system was a failure. But it was found on further investigation that this inexplicable decrease in the transit trade was often attended with an annually increasing import of the self-same articles of foreign merchandise the transit returns of which were diminishing—an increase which it was quite impossible to account for by increased consumption at the Treaty Ports alone. What could be the explanation underlying these puzzling and anomalous and seemingly contradictory facts? And then it gradually came out that a number of the mandarins in the interior had foreseen that the distribution of foreign merchandise was likely to pass out of their jurisdiction altogether. So, with a craft and cunning sharpened by self-interest, they had reduced the inland *Likin* dues from their former extortionate rates to a point below the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

tariff of the Transit Pass. Consequently they still secured, though on a greatly reduced scale, their beloved "squeeze," a very small proportion of the inland *Likin* dues going to the credit of the Central Government, which will no doubt look on the change as not particularly satisfactory to itself, as in the case of the Transit Pass it pocketed the full 2½ per cent. But the Transit Pass, if it is not to be an end in itself, has thus become the means to an end, and the above illustration proves what a powerful instrument it is in keeping down the rapacity of the provincial officials as regards foreign imports. No doubt they will find out shortly the value of the Petroleum Trade and act accordingly, and then the transit statistics will be as unreliable guides in forming an opinion of its extent, as they are now when applied to many other specific articles of foreign merchandise.

If our great merchants and manufacturers could only realize what the total abolition of *Likin* dues would mean for them, and the bearing, direct and indirect, of such a measure on our commerce with China, they would assuredly leave no stone unturned to attain that end. At least they might press for the further reform of the *Likin* system on the lines of the Opium Convention of 1886, which frees the foreign drug, on the payment of *one* statutory duty, to travel all over the Empire. And why is opium thus privileged? Simply because our own Government, or rather the Government of India, has a heavy stake in the sale of foreign opium in China, and has exerted itself on behalf of the merchandise in which it is itself specially interested. Let our merchants and manufacturers take the cue from the Government of India, combine and exert themselves through the Chambers of Commerce in behalf of merchandise other than opium. It will be much less invidious for the Central Government at Peking to inaugurate a new departure if they can plead pressure from without to the provincial authorities as a ground for further change.

Having now briefly noticed the main points of the system of taxation which prevails in the Flowery Land, it may perhaps not be out of place to turn for a little to the tariff clause of the new Franco-Chinese Treaty, which has quite groundlessly, I maintain, disturbed the equanimity of some British manufacturers. By French politicians, a differential tariff discriminating in favour of French merchants is supposed to be an unfailing as well as patriotic method of bolstering up French trade in French colonies; and if one may judge from the length of time the French Government is taking to discover their fallacy in the matter of the Sugar Bounties (not that the British *consumer* has any reason to complain of the Sugar Bounties—much the reverse), the prophecy may be hazarded that French statesmen are also, for a long time to come, likely to see as through a glass darkly in regard to differential dues. Saigon, the capital of French Cochin-China, was until lately a free port, but a differential tariff (the wonder is that the glamour of the favourite nostrum was resisted so long) favouring French merchandise has recently been put in force to the utter ruin of Saigon as a trade entrepôt save in the single item of the immense export of rice to China, which trade, principally carried on in British ships, is not touched by the new tariff.

The conclusion of a new treaty with China was hailed as a splendid opportunity for a *grand coup* in differential dues, and it was therefore proposed by the French that goods which entered China *via* Tonquin should be subjected to a more liberal tariff than that which prevails at the Treaty Ports. After some preliminary haggling, the Chinese plenipotentiaries agreed that merchandise entering China *via* Tonquin should pay only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of the Treaty Port 5 per cent. duty. Of course a discriminating tariff put in force at the ports of Tonquin will prevent all save French goods from entering the new dependency. The Chinese Government, however, when it acceded to the French demand, knew perfectly well that the concession

was a concession in name only, that in fact the whole thing was a ridiculous farce; but having enjoyed the *substance* of a triumph, it was naturally not unwilling to allow the French statesmen the *semblance* of a triumph, which would doubtless seem a real diplomatic victory in the eyes of ignorant parliamentary demagogues and shallow Boulevard politicians. And the concession is a sham, inasmuch as the Song-ka or Red River of Tonquin, which was in French eyes to form the new high road to China, is now found not to be navigable for a great distance for craft of any size. Consequently resort must be had to land carriage—a most costly factor in the ultimate price of the goods to the Chinese consumer, a factor the inevitable introduction of which will far more than sweep away any advantage which the difference between a duty of $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. and 5 per cent. might otherwise have conferred.

But again, granting, for the sake of argument, that the Red River had been navigable for large craft right up to the Chinese frontier and beyond, we are landed in South-Eastern Yunnan, a desolate mountain wilderness of vast extent, nearly destitute of inhabitants, extremely difficult of access, where transport would be almost if not altogether impossible, and its cost prohibitive. Having got his goods into China at immense expense, the French merchant would then find to his chagrin that there existed no demand at all. Besides, the great mineral wealth of Yunnan lies for the most part in the South-Western division of this huge province—about the same size as Great Britain and Ireland together—and until the construction of the railway *via* Burmah, Siam, and the Shan States, the advantages of which have found able exponents and eloquent advocates in Messrs. Colquhoun and Holt Hallett, the mineral products of Yunnan will find their way to the coast *via* Szechuen and the Yangtse, and, in fact, this is the route followed by the entire copper supply of the Empire.

The West River, or Si-kiang, from Canton, is the route

to reach the rich province of Kwangtung. It is to be hoped that our Government will bring to a successful termination the negotiations which were in progress some time ago for the opening up to foreign trade of this magnificent waterway.

So much, then, for the vaunted tariff clause of the new French Treaty, and for Tonquin as a trade route to China.

But not only is China revolutionizing her former policy of haughty exclusiveness, not only is she extending a welcoming hand to Western knowledge, experience, and science, by the agency of which alone she is now convinced that the Empire can be properly opened up and developed, not only has she granted permission to all foreigners to travel without restraint through the length and breadth of the Empire—she is also energetically engaged in building up a system of defence which must ere long place her in a position of impregnable strength, a position in which she need no longer fear any attack from without, and will therefore be able to push forward more confidently from within the energetic development of her stupendous resources.

Huge arsenals under foreign management have already sprung up at Amoy, Foochow, Shanghai, Tientsin, &c.; the estuaries of the mighty rivers giving access to the interior have been and are being strongly fortified by European engineers, and the forts supplied with the latest and most powerful patterns of breechloading ordnance, and a government dockyard has now been established at Port Arthur, not far from the Gulf of Pechili. The vast army of China is being gradually supplied with weapons of the latest and most deadly design, while great battalions are being incessantly drilled and disciplined by European officers. The Chinese army is now undergoing the same transformation which the Japanese army underwent a few years ago, and when the transformation is completed, the difference between the effectiveness of the Chinese army and that of her lively and go-ahead, but comparatively insignificant, little

neighbour will certainly be as great as the difference between the *present* and *past* effectiveness of the army of Japan. Li Hung Chang, the powerful Viceroy of Chihli, and the old friend and companion in arms of General Gordon during the Taiping Rebellion, one of the few enlightened provincial officials of high rank, now commands a trained army of some 50,000 men. I well remember when at Tientsin, the head-quarters of the Viceroy, that one could go nowhere beyond the precincts of the city without frequently meeting numerous regiments undergoing foreign drill; while the incessant musketry practice which at dawn began to disturb one's slumbers, and continued without the slightest intermission the whole livelong day, was to me a revelation which I shall not soon forget of the way in which Chinese energy, once roused, sets perseveringly to work to accomplish its ends.

As to the navy, few can have failed to notice the orders for ironclads and gunboats which have so frequently been given of late, and at the present moment the Chinese navy—taking no account of an immense fleet of armed junks, which, of course, are worthless against a foreign power, however useful they may be in restraining and putting down local lawlessness—consists of twenty-six foreign-built men-of-war, some of them large and powerful ironclads, and about one hundred small gunboats, built under foreign supervision in the arsenals of the Empire. The Chinese, mercifully for the future of Western civilization, are essentially a peace-loving people, but they are nevertheless inexorably tenacious of their rights, and when these rights are invaded, the ruthless, relentless, remorseless sacrifice of human life which they will not scruple to make in order to assert and vindicate these rights, ought to be a warning to all foreign powers not recklessly to endanger their friendly relations with the Peking Government. Well would it have been for France had she paused to think, before entering on her wild and barren campaign with China—

a campaign which has cost her, apart altogether from the fearful loss of life in Tonquin, about £10,000,000, and which involves the maintenance of 14,000 men in a pestilential climate in order to retain her latest and comparatively valueless acquisition of territory.

Russia, if any power does, understands the tremendous latent strength of China, and it may be remembered that in the Kuldja difficulty a few years ago, rather than engage in a struggle, she yielded almost every demand which China made, and that, too, after the Chinese Envoy at St. Petersburg had, on his own responsibility, however, signed a treaty drawn up by Russia, yielding up to her a vast territory—a piece of folly which, on his return to the Celestial City, Chunghow would have expiated by the loss of his head, had it not been for the energetic intercession of the *corps diplomatique* then resident at Peking.

The time has now long since passed away since Chinese officials were in the habit of referring—as Lu, the Viceroy of Canton, did in an edict to the Hong merchants—to the Envoy of a foreign power as a "barbarian eye;" but I shall never forget how, in the last war with France, the news of the successful storming of Langson by the Chinese sent a shiver of fear through every foreign heart in China. We all of us, for the moment, forgot that the Imperial Government was now no more a "barbarian eye" than Lord Napier, and we feared the unknown and unknowable excesses into which the Government might be led by the success of their arms against a great European power. But China vindicated her pretensions to be eliminated from the category of barbaric powers. No civilized Government could have used a victory with greater wisdom and moderation than the Government of China did Langson, for no sooner had they received the authenticated news, than they immediately suggested an armistice for the consideration of a basis on which peace might be concluded—a suggestion which, in the circumstances in which she was placed, could never have come from France, but which France

was only too thankful to accept. It was a stroke of policy on the part of the Imperial Government which added immensely to its reputation for statesmanship in the eyes of the civilized nations of the West.

When the great Empire of the East is hovering on the verge of the energetic development of her incalculable resources, it is reassuring to know that the relations between the Governments of Great Britain and China are of the most cordial nature. I recollect being told by a naval officer in high command at Hong Kong, that when, during the Russian scare in 1885, the British admiral withdrew the gunboats from the various Treaty Ports where they were stationed in order to concentrate their strength for an immediate attack on the Russian fleet, had war been declared, the Imperial Government, of its own accord, sent the strictest injunctions to the responsible Chinese officials, resident in the Treaty Ports, to use every means in their power to protect British interests, and to lend the British every assistance consistent with the neutrality of China. But not only are the relations of the two Governments of the most friendly character, but ever since the war with France British influence may be said to have reigned supreme. France, by her folly and her arrogance, and finally by her practical defeat, may be said to have lost much of her former prestige; while Germany, owing to a peculiar short-sightedness on the part of a few of her merchants in China, has also forfeited a large share of the influence she once possessed. During the late campaign the Chinese found themselves in want of large quantities of munitions of war, but the securing of the contracts necessitated the bribery of an army of officials and wholesale corruption on a grand scale. None of the great British houses would touch the business, and it was left for some German firms to try their hand at the somewhat hazardous game. As they did not shrink from taking the necessary means to secure the contracts, neither did they shrink from supplying goods often of an altogether inferior quality which frequently turned out

worse than useless. The Central Government not seldom finds it difficult to punish the venality of its officials, but they were intensely disgusted with the conduct of the contractors, as they have since been with the cheap and worthless workmanship of several of the men-of-war made in Germany when compared with the solid and honest workmanship of those built for China in our own yards.

As for Russia, China's knowledge of her territorial aggressiveness is fixed and irremovable. It has often occurred to me that the true solution of the Eastern Question—at least as far as Russian aggression in Asia is concerned—will some day be found in a close Anglo-Chinese alliance. The Russian and Chinese frontiers are co-terminous for thousands of miles, and China stands in the greatest dread of the insatiable Russian land hunger, and is prepared to resist it—as far as her own territory is concerned—with a calm determination which only those who know something of Chinese indomitable persistency can appraise at its real value. With her usual disregard of human life she would hurl millions of human beings against the Russian armies, and if defeated would hurl millions more; and the Chinese army now is a very different organization from what it was in 1860, when, along with the French, we indulged in a promenade to Peking and sacked the Summer Palace. Many millions were slaughtered during the Taiping Rebellion, and millions more would have perished a few years ago, had Russia not thought it wise to yield in the Kuldja affair. Combined British and Chinese action would effectually paralyze the hand of Russia in Asia, if not elsewhere.

It will be well for this country if British statesmen will consider how they may best strengthen the existing friendship between the two mighty Empires. Let them do everything in their power to weld them inseparably together by means of the two bonds which ought, of all others, to bind them in indissoluble alliance—the bonds of similar interests and mutual preservation.

If a few of the prominent British statesmen who have recently been visiting India in such force had extended their travels a few thousand miles further East they would have found food for reflection—ay, and for action—which would have served some of them at least for the rest of their lives. It is utterly impossible for those who have never on the spot studied China, her economy, her present condition, and her prospects, to call up even the vaguest image of the vastness of the original. Every other method is seeing through a glass darkly. Book knowledge and that conveyed in printed reports are no doubt useful, but there is no way of studying a country equal to that of travelling in it. One sees and hears so much that is interesting and important which never by any chance appears in print, and eye to eye information sinks into and takes hold of the mind as mere book knowledge never can.

It was my good fortune, while returning to Shanghai from one of several journeys in the interior, to travel with the gentleman who had for a number of years represented the Government of the United States at the Court of the Son of Heaven, and who had by his talent and his courtesy won for himself the warm friendship of all the greatest statesmen of China. I am bound to confess, that, after a week or ten days' constant converse with the able and genial diplomatist, my feelings were of a somewhat mixed character; for, on the one hand, while I felt that in that time, surrounded by the country which formed the chief and ever-recurring topic of our conversation, I had learned far more about the country, the Chinese Government, its peculiarities, its difficulties, its power, its aspirations, and its future policy, than I could have learned in a lifetime at home, on the other hand I also began to feel the extent of my ignorance, and to realize what seemed the almost hopeless task of an endeavour to acquire anything like a thorough knowledge of that immense country—fascinating subject of study though it be. The only comfort one could administer to one's self was this: that the realiza-

tion of one's own ignorance of a subject is the greatest spur in an endeavour to increase one's knowledge of it.

I have now, very briefly, considering what might be said on so important a subject, attempted to show that the old order of things in China is passing away, that the antagonism of the apostles of the old dispensation—the army of provincial governors and their hireling officials—is collapsing; that it is yielding with what grace it may to the *force majeure* of circumstances, to the increasing power of the Central Government, in whose councils the apostles of progress, men like the Marquis Tseng and Li Hung Chang have a preponderating influence, and last of all yielding to the awakening voice of the intelligent unofficial portion of the vast population, who would gladly see Western energy, civilization, and science opening up and developing the resources of the Empire. One of the most valuable guarantees which can be offered for the ceaseless progress of the future is this: that the Presidency of the Tsungli-Yamen, or Foreign Office, at Peking, is held by the Marquis Tseng, who has not only won his spurs in Europe, and while here visited all our centres of industry and commerce, but has also established for himself a reputation for ability and enlightened intelligence which many a European statesman might envy. I cannot do better in bringing this paper to a close than quote from that great manifesto of the future policy of China, which the Marquis Tseng on leaving Europe for Peking sent to this Review, under the suggestive title of "China: the Sleep and the Awakening," an article pregnant with destiny and promise not only for China, but for Western energy and enterprise. He says: "China is no longer what she was even five years ago; each encounter, and especially the last, has, in teaching China her weakness, also discovered to her her strength." And again: "But the occupation of waste lands is not the only agency to absorb any overflow of population which may exist in certain provinces. Another, and a more permanent one, will consist in the demand which will soon

be afforded by the establishment of manufactures, the opening of mines, and the introduction of railways."

And the progress here so visibly foreshadowed is certain to partake—if I may be permitted a mathematical metaphor—far more of the nature of a geometrical than of an arithmetical progression.

Any speculation as to the position among nations which China will occupy in the future may be thought premature, but when, in Burmah, in Borneo, in New Guinea, in the Philippines, in Singapore, and the Malay Peninsula, in Siam, in Java, in Sumatra, and throughout the whole of the Dutch East Indies, and lastly, though *as yet* to an almost inappreciable extent in Japan, we perceive in the struggle for existence the native populations being slowly but surely driven to the wall by the transcendent business ability and universal thrift of the ubiquitous Mongol; and when we further consider how his mercantile spirit will be developed and stimulated as soon as he shall enjoy the same privileges, opportunities, and scope in his own country which he does out of it (I do not refer to America or Australia), there is no room for doubt as to what is to be the dominating power of the future in the Far East of Asia. The Chinese possess in a marvellous degree the power of crushing and supplanting the rival populations of Eastern Asia. The process is proceeding slowly and silently, but the doom of these peoples is sure and inexorable.

The fiat has gone forth, and their doom—be it near or be it distant—is sealed. Once again the hand of the Eternal is writing on the wall of Time, and there flashes through the gloom of the future the dread, dramatic sentence, self-illuminated, for it is emblazoned in characters of fire, indelible, immutable, the doom of the succumbing nations of Far Eastern Asia, the awful doom of the Chaldean of old—"Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin."

Let him read who can.

Few things strike the wanderer on his return home from China as more curious and more strange than the

intense intrinsic paltriness and relative insignificance of many of the so-called burning questions of the day ; and it is with a smile of astonishment, mingled with sadness, that he looks on the infinite waste of magnificent energy and splendid brain power, as the vision—dim and imperfect it may be, but none the less awe-inspiring and sublime—rises continually before his eyes of hundreds of millions of human beings in the act of emerging from Chaos into Cosmos, from Darkness into Light, from Weakness into Power ; in the act of emancipating themselves from the galling thralldom of an effete civilization, and of welcoming the progress begotten by the new, working out their own tremendous destiny, almost unnoticed, almost unobserved by those who will some day wonder why their eyes have so long been inexplicably blind to the ceaseless, onward, resistless movement of China's countless millions, and why their ears have so long been persistently deaf to the grand and ever increasingly startling strains of the mighty "March of the Mongol."

WILLIAM B. DUNLOP.

RAISING A NEW GOORKHA REGIMENT IN INDIA.

SOME two or three years ago the Government of India decided to increase the strength of our Native Army by several fresh battalions of Sikhs and Goorkhas. This measure was not carried out all at once, owing probably to financial pressure; but now almost all the new battalions have been raised to their full strength of 912 of all (native) ranks. It is, I think, generally acknowledged that the five Goorkha regiments stand high amongst the *corps d'élite* of the native army, and each of them has now a second battalion. The Goorkhas in Assam, which are also first-class regiments, have not as yet been ordered to raise second battalions. The last of the second battalions, that of the 3rd Goorkhas, was ordered to be raised last year, and it is of the raising of this particular battalion that I now write, for the interest attaching to its creation, and the difficulties encountered have been far greater, I imagine, than those experienced by the officers of the other new regiments, and in its composition it stands alone in the Native Army, for it is recruited almost entirely from the various hill clans of Upper Garhwál. Until quite lately our Goorkha regiments from the 1st to the 5th have enlisted Garhwális from Lower Garhwál in their ranks, and these men in the Mutiny, and many other campaigns, have proved themselves brave, hardy, and intelligent soldiers. Many of them have won the Order of Merit for conspicuous gallantry in the field, and twice, I believe, has a Garhwáli native officer been selected for the honourable position of native aide-de-camp to His Excellency the Viceroy. I have met one of these retired

aide-de-camps, who used to be Subedar Major, or head native officer in the 5th Goorkhas; and a fine old soldier he is too, refined and gentlemanly withal. He is much respected by the natives of Lower Garhwál who call him the Lord Subedar Sahib.

When orders were issued for the raising of the 2nd battalion of the 3rd Goorkhas, His Excellency the Commander-in-chief in India directed that the whole battalion should be raised, if possible, from the clans of Upper and Foreign Garhwál. Hitherto it has been from Lower Garhwál that our Goorkha regiments obtained their Garhwáli recruits, but on the principle that the more north one goes the hardier and better men will be found, we were told to try Upper Garhwál, and we accordingly pushed our recruiting parties right up to the villages lying near the perpetual snows. Enlistment in the army was a thing almost wholly unknown to these villagers, and at first we expected some difficulties in inducing the young men to "*take the shilling*." They thought we wanted to press them as coolies, and take them away to live in the plains of India: they did not believe us when we told them of the regular pay coming in monthly, of the good conduct pay, pension, and all the other advantages to be gained by enlisting in Her Majesty's Native Army. But by degrees we have induced some hundreds of hardy, plucky little mountaineers to enlist, and are forming a regiment of veritable Indian Highlanders, some of whose villages lie at elevations of nearly 10,000 feet above the sea level.

As Garhwál is a name quite unfamiliar to most people, I will mention that it is an exceedingly mountainous region extending, roughly, from longitude 78° to $79^{\circ} 40'$, and from latitude $29^{\circ} 20'$ to 31° , skirted in its southern extremity by the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, and running thence northward to the Mána and Niti passes, which lead across the Himalayas into Hundés. English people call the mountains of Garhwál the Himalayas, but the Garhwális only apply that name to the snowy range. A description

of the country, &c., will be found further on in this paper when I give an account of my wanderings in it.

When *The Gazette* ordering the raising of the 2-3rd Goorkhas appeared, it was not finally decided where the battalion should be stationed. The second battalions of the other Goorkha regiments are all quartered at or near the stations occupied by their first battalions, but, for various reasons, it was considered that Almora, where our first battalion has always been stationed, would not be a suitable place. I may as well here note for the information of those who do not know the fact, that the Goorkha regiments, from the 1st to the 5th, are always permanently stationed in the hills, and are never moved from their respective stations except for field service or camps of exercise, at the termination of which they always return to their original quarters. Pending the decision of Government, however, as to where we should be permanently located, we were directed to join at Almora, and form our nucleus there. The "birth" of the second battalion was duly celebrated by a dinner given us by our brethren of the first battalion, and commemorated by a regimental artist whose sketches often adorn the pages of *The Graphic*, in a cleverly sketched menu representing Sarah Gamp displaying an infant in long clothes (the 2nd battalion) to two Goorkhas of the 1st battalion who were saying, "Bless his little heart! He shall have a real kookri* to play with when he is big enough." Underneath was the announcement, "At Almora on the 20th of April, 1887, the first battalion 3rd Goorkhas of a 2nd battalion; both doing well. Russian papers please copy." In the lower right-hand corner was a scroll with the names of the officers of both battalions on it, and in the left-hand corner a sketch representing the Russians in precipitate retreat followed by Goorkhas in pursuit, underneath being written, "Bring up the Goorkhas, and let us all have dinner."

Our nucleus consisted of some 250 Goorkhas and

* A *kookri* is a large crooked knife carried by every man in a Goorkha regiment.

Garhwális of all ranks, drawn from various regiments, and we were unable for some time to add to this number owing to the rainy season preventing recruiting parties from going out. In September two of our officers went out into the hills with parties of old soldiers to try and induce the upper Garhwális to enlist, while the rest of us waited at Almora anxious to know where we were to be stationed. At last we received orders to march through the hills to a place called Kálu Dánda, some ten or twelve days' march from Almora, and occupy the place temporarily for a year in order to test its qualifications as a site for a military cantonment. And now the real interest of raising our battalion, and founding a new station began in good earnest, attended by difficulties of no ordinary kind. The other new Goorkha battalions, as I said before, and the new Sikh regiments, had been located at, or close to, stations where the officers at any rate could find some degree of civilization, and some sort of accommodation. We, on the contrary, were ordered to march away to a place where no Europeans lived, to the top of a wild hill covered with dense jungle, with one or two miserable little groups of huts dignified by the name of villages, and where we were told our water supply was doubtful. Winter was coming on with its snow, rain, and storms, and we had only our small Caubul tents to live in. In addition to this we had to endeavour to raise a regiment from tribes who practically did not know what enlistment meant. Then, if it should be finally decided that Kálu Dánda was to be permanently occupied, we were to found a new station and build our own houses. Though it cannot be denied we had uphill work before us, still we all felt it to be a task of very great interest, and we were only too glad when our orders came to march; and on our last march, as we turned a corner, and saw Kálu Dánda towering above us, men and officers cheered lustily.

Our march through the hills from Almora had been along hill roads which led day after day up to high elevations and then down again to the valleys, through splendid scenery;

sometimes we marched through magnificent pine forests, sometimes crept along the brink of a precipice where the road was so narrow that we could only advance in single file; at times we would catch glimpses of the snow mountains in the distance rising to heights of 23,000 feet; and often after a good pull up-hill for three or four hours, we would see our advanced tents 5,000 feet below us at the next camping ground, and the road would lead us thither by a steep, winding descent. And so up-hill and down-hill day by day we marched till we reached Kálu Dánda. This hill lies in a direct line from Almora, some sixty or seventy miles north-west, but of course by the winding hill roads the distance is considerably greater. Thirty miles south of Kálu Dánda lies the city and railway station of Najibabad on the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway. An engineer officer, Lieut. Casgrain, R.E., had been surveying and exploring the hill during the previous hot weather, and we had his map as a guide when we arrived. Kálu Dánda, or more correctly Káloon ka Dánda (the ridge of the Káloos), is so called because two Káloos or Hindoo holy men had lived there; the Garhwális generally call the hill Káloo, or Kálu Dánda, which last name means *the black ridge*, and is applied to it because it looks black at a distance owing to the dense jungle upon it. Occasionally it is called Kála Pahár, *the black mountain*.

The hill is a very extensive one with ample room on it for a large station, and would make a fine sanatorium for British troops. It runs nearly east and west, its western extremity rising to a height of 6,065 feet above the sea. Its northern face is almost a sheer precipice looking down into a narrow valley some two or three thousand feet below, while to the south the hill slopes away fairly gradually for about a mile before another precipitous descent is reached. The south-eastern end lies at an elevation of about 5,500 feet above the sea, and looks down on the Bhávar Terai. As we gained the top of the hill we were agreeably surprised to find that a native sub-overseer of

public works had made a capital temporary road for us along the ridge to our camping ground. This road was of course dubbed "*the Mall*" forthwith. We were much amused to find a small red post-box, with V.R. on it, outside an excavation in a hillock. The excavation, walled up in front, turned out to be the post-office which had just been established by our energetic Indian postal authorities. The hill is covered with a dense forest of holm oak, gnarled and twisted into all sorts of fantastic shapes, rhododendron trees, and the fir tree known as *Pinus longifolia*, with a thick undergrowth of shrubs, bracken, and other ferns. Innumerable deep narrow rocky watercourses run southward from the ridge, and from the ridge itself we get a truly magnificent panorama of the snow mountains, an unbroken view of some two hundred miles of snow, the nearest being about seventy miles off as the crow flies. In the winter the intermediate hills are also snow-capped. Looking south from the ridge we see the plains of India very distinctly stretching south, east, and west.

It may easily be imagined what an interest it was to us to explore our hill, and we soon came to the conclusion that the scenery was splendid, and that if we could only overcome the water-supply difficulty, we should have as delightful a hill station as any one could wish, and one which we would not exchange for any other. Game in the shape of bears, pheasants, and small deer seemed pretty plentiful, too. But we had little time for exploration as recruits were beginning to come in, and that in itself meant three parades a day. Then there were the men's temporary lines to be built, paths to be made to the springs, a rifle range to be selected and laid out, cantonment boundaries to be decided on, villagers' claims to be considered for cultivated land taken up, engineering works to be put in hand, such as opening up communications with the railway, and a hundred and one things to be thought of and carried out. In connection with the huts alone difficulties arose by the score. There were no carpenters or masons, no proper contractors;

skilled workmen refused to leave the plains and face the winter on Kálu Dánda with its snow and frost. There was no seasoned wood ; and no good building stone was at first forthcoming. We said we would build with mud, but the earth at our first trial proved to be so full of mica-schist that we could not make mud of it. Then when we found earth suited to our purpose the water was so out of the way that we could only get a little at a time to mix with the earth. Our experiments, our failures, and endless difficulties were a source of infinite amusement to us, and as we sat shivering in our great-coats round our little mess table in a small tent every night, the day's experiences afforded food for mirth which helped to keep us warm. We made and hoisted a flag to the top of a tree in the name of the Queen-Empress, the regiment, such as there was of it, presenting arms and cheering loudly as we announced that we took over the *station* (?) in Her Majesty's name.

Our first care was to cut paths to the springs, and open up the hill by a path through the jungle, so that we could tell a bit how we stood. An excellent parade ground, better I fancy than most hill stations have got, was found in a grassy hollow. As time wore on we got half a company of Sappers and Miners up from Roorkee to make roads. A picturesque and fine rifle range was selected by the Colonel, and after the hill had been visited and duly inspected by an officer of the Quarter-Master-General's department, we received orders that we were to select a site for permanent barracks, as Government had decided to make Kálu Dánda into a military station, where we were to be quartered thenceforth. The site selected for the barrack was the south-east end, somewhat far from the water supply, which is, however, to be conducted by iron pipes to a convenient spot near the lines. Some of the senior officers considered the north-west end of the hill to be the better side, as it is between three and four hundred feet higher, within easy distance of the water, and has probably a healthier aspect than the other, which is immediately

over the Bhávar Terai. But the Quarter-Master-General in India, during his visit later on, fixed on the lower site for our lines, for various reasons. I have said that recruits were beginning to come in soon after our arrival at Kálu Dánda. We were very much pleased with them, and found them jovial little fellows, full of spirits, independent, and keen upon drill; indeed, after parades, and on Thursdays (the weekly holiday in India), and on Sundays they would turn out of their own accord, make up squads, and drill each other. The more we have seen of them the more we think of the soldierly capabilities of the Upper Garhwális. Laziness is unknown, and they are always willing and cheerful. They like a tot of rum now and then, but they never drink to excess. We have athletic sports for them occasionally, flat races, hurdle races, jumping, &c., and they thoroughly appreciate this. But football they took to immensely. We officers of course always play with them and have taught them the Rugby game, and they play with great pluck and spirit. Lads of their description cannot but turn out good soldiers.

Our recruits are most of them very young, seventeen being about the average age, 5 feet 4 inches and 34 inches being their average height and chest measurements, while their legs are big and strong with largely developed calves. We find that constant athletics and drill, coupled with a regular and ample supply of good food of a quality superior to what they get in their own villages, fills out our lads rapidly; and after a recruit has been enlisted a month it is difficult to recognize in him the wild, long-haired, blanket-clad individual he was when first enlisted. They are undoubtedly as smart a lot of lads all round as a soldier would wish to see, and I think we are justly proud of them. There is nothing cringing about them, and they are so willing and cheerful that one cannot help liking the little fellows, who are as happy as possible, thoroughly enjoying their novel life. They have all learned to swim in their mountain streams, and they can swim and dive splendidly.

just as Englishmen do, and not at all like the natives of the plains. The Garhwális use the breast and side stroke, swim on their backs and dive for long distances under water, or deep down to the bottom of big pools.

My turn of the recruiting duties came on in February, and on the 5th of that month I set out alone from Kálu Dánda ; alone that is as regards European companions, and till the 22nd May I roamed amongst the mountains of Garhwál endeavouring to raise the remaining three or four hundred men required. The manner in which I carried on the recruiting work was as follows. I would split up my men into detached parties to move by certain routes towards a given village where they had directions to *rendezvous* on a certain date. I myself with headquarters party would move by another route towards the same village, endeavouring to pick up lads by the way. When we all met I would measure and examine the recruits brought in, and send such as I considered to be likely young men to Kálu Dánda for the commanding officer's approval. After that we would all start off in a fresh direction. The parents and wives of the young men would often object to their "*listing for a soldier*," very much as English mothers and wives do. The fathers would sometimes come and take their sons away from a recruiting party ; a few days after the lad would turn up again, and say he had run away from his father, and wanted me to enlist him. The parents had one and all the same excuse as a reason why their sons should not be enlisted, and that was, "*He is my only son*." I told them that it appeared to me no Garhwáli parents ever had or ever could have more than one son, and chaffed them well. The recruits we have are so happy with their lot in the regiment that we send them back to their homes on leave as decoy birds, and they generally bring back three or four of their friends to enlist.

I started, as I said, on the 5th February, for a three-and-a-half months tour through Upper Garhwál. It is a region full of game of all kinds, such as panther, black

bear, gural, burrel, tár, monál and chír, pheasants, chikór, &c., &c., and English sportsmen constantly visit it. The sacred waters of the Alaknanda and Pindar streams run through it and join the Ganges, and, in fact, the inhabitants call these and their tributaries by the name of Ganga Ji. The famous shrines of Kédárnáth and Badrináth lie away up in the northern extremity of Garhwál, and are visited annually by thousands of pilgrims. The inhabitants are a sturdy race; the men clothe themselves in home-spun blankets, fastened on one or both shoulders by quaint brass or wooden pins; frequently they tie a rope round their waists, and the effect produced is that of the rudiments of a kilt and plaid, the lower portion just clearing the knee.

They all have long hair. The women wear the same blankets as long skirts, which reach to the feet, and a sort of jacket over the breast; some of them are pretty, but not many. The Garhwális speak and understand Hindustani very well, but amongst themselves they make use of a rough dialect very difficult to pick up. So strong are the men that I have sometimes seen them carrying nearly 160 lbs. on their backs up and down hill, and that for several days. They derive their name, Garhwáli, from the fact that in ancient days their country was full of small forts (*Garh*) in which they used to live, and so got the name of Garhwáli, or "*dweller in a fort*." They are all Hindoos by religion, and Rajputs by caste. They are divided into many clans like all Goorkhas, and in mentioning a man's name his clan is always added. Among the principal clans I might mention Gusain, Ráwat (hero), Bisht, Thákur, and Négi (warrior), each of which has its many sub-divisions such as Rána, Jhinkwán, Pharswán, Aswál, and several others. Two nomadic tribes come over the passes of Mána and Níti from Hundés and Bhútán at the beginning of the cold weather, before these passes are closed by the winter snow. They are called respectively Márchá and Tólchá. These Márchas and Tólchas are, for the most part, fairish in colour, and some of the men are even handsome. They

are tallish, robust, and hardy. They leave their women and children in villages on this side of the passes, and wander down to the plains of India with flocks of sheep and goats, which they use for carrying salt, quicksilver, and other commodities brought down from Hundés. Each sheep or goat has a pair of small bags of sacking, strengthened with leather, slung across its back, and at night goats, sheep, and men camp by the roadside; the men, as often as not, putting up in a cave. To meet a flock of these sheep and goats, as I have frequently done, on a broken staircase of a road about four feet wide with a cliff going straight up on one side, and a precipice yawning on the other, is a little trying to the nerves at first, but the excitement wears off in time. Other members of these tribes bring down Bhútán ponies for sale; a fine breed they are too, very strong and sure-footed, with long shaggy manes and tails. The mares, with their colts and fillies, and a few stallions, are left in some grazing ground while the geldings are taken down country for sale.

Every Márchá has a Bhútia dog with him to guard his flocks at night. These dogs are magnificent animals, very like a collie in appearance, and though quiet by day, they are very savage at night, and are armed with ferocious looking teeth. So strong and plucky are these dogs that the Márchas declare two of them will fight and kill a panther. To protect their throats in such encounters each dog has always a huge iron collar, some six inches broad, covering the whole of his neck and throat. When the hot weather commences and the passes are open, the Márchas and Tólchas return to Bhútán, carrying back with them grain of various kinds in the little bags slung across their goats' backs. These goats are often splendid animals, with fine twisted horns and very long hair. I tried hard to persuade men from these two tribes to enlist, but their answer always was that they could not stand the heat of India in the hot weather. Though I daresay there is a good deal of truth in this, I fancy the real reason is that they

are wedded to their roving life, for they continue their wanderings in Bhútán after leaving India, and they would pine if shut up in a military station, and subjected to discipline.

My route at first led me along the valley of the Alaknanda, which I entered at a large thriving village called Srinagar. I use the word valley, but strictly speaking it is only a huge ravine most of the way up to the source of the stream; high hills shut it in on both sides, and in many places the ravine narrows to a breadth of barely one hundred yards. The path winds along the hillside, following the contour of the hills, and is sometimes only a few feet above the stream, which is a succession of deep pools situated at about a hundred and fifty yards from each other, and connected by rapids where the icy cold water roars and tumbles amongst huge boulders of rock. Sometimes again the road ascends to such a height above the water, that its ceaseless roar sinks into a faint murmur. Where the ravine opens out to a respectable width, and the ground lays claim to be what is called a *maidán* (a plain), there is generally a village the name of which has the termination *bagr*, which signifies a level place. But a Garhwáli's ideas of a plain are not those of a Western mind. Ground sloping at a considerable angle of ten appears to constitute a *maidán*; and when you are told that, after ascending or descending, your road will reach a *maidán*, you may take it as meaning undulating ground such as would be called steep and hilly by a plainsman. From this it will be gathered what to expect when a native acknowledges that a certain road is very steep. Yet it is wonderful how soon one gets accustomed to steep roads, and how welcome is one of the so-called level places after a terrific climb of four hours. In many places the road ascends and descends by steep and broken steps, up and down which the Márchas' laden goats and sheep climb with surprising agility. The streams are bridged in many places by fine English suspension bridges and where the natives require to cross, and no such bridge

exists, a cleverly constructed rope one is made, for the stream is well-nigh unfordable. On a shooting expedition one day, in order to save a long round to get to a bridge, I tried fording the Pindar, and did so twice, but at the imminent risk of being swept off my feet, for I quickly got numbed by the icy coldness of the water, and the bottom consisted of boulders as slippery as if they had been greased, while the stream was rushing with great force over them.

I fell once or twice and got well ducked, for the water was three feet deep. The rope bridges are made by securing thick ropes to two pairs of wooden uprights on either side of the stream, by way of a roadway; across these are tied sticks and twigs to step upon, while above on either side of you are two more stout ropes, but these, fastened as they are to the tops of the wooden uprights, can only be reached when you are nearly half-way across. They are connected with the roadway ropes by cords, and the whole completes a structure which one eyes with suspicion before venturing to cross for the first time. However, seeing there is no help for it, one lays hesitation aside, and steps boldly forward to navigate the bridge. About half-way when the bridge has got a good sway on, you begin to think it is a fraud, and you gaze at the further shore and mentally calculate whether it would not be shorter and better policy to go back. But the attempt at turning causes the structure to wriggle unpleasantly, and the roadway lurches to one side owing to your having placed both feet, and consequently all your weight on one of the roadway ropes instead of on both. You clutch wildly at the side cords, and the bridge heaves convulsively as though moved to mirth at your predicament; and you probably catch a glance of a native's face on the bank from which you started, and you are nettled at seeing he is grinning at and enjoying the *sahib's* difficulties. This decides you, and with a mental resolve to uphold the honour of old England you turn again, this time carefully, and with the consoling thought that, after all, you can but fall into the raging water, which you see some twenty or thirty feet below

you, you struggle onwards and finally arrive triumphantly at the further bank. When I first undertook this feat I strictly forbade any one to cross at the same time, knowing that that would shake the machine still more, and I set out on my perilous journey gaily whistling, "Hurrah! for the life of a soldier." When half-way across I wished I knew of a tune, "Hurrah! for the life of a *sailor*," and when some of the twigs between the roadway ropes cracked and broke, I seriously thought of jumping into the stream, but I eventually got safely across, honest pride and triumph beaming in every feature.

One soon gets accustomed to these bridges, and practice enables you to cross when heavily laden coolies are coming in the opposite direction, and pass them in the middle of the swaying bridge. At one spot I saw some villagers slinging wheat across a stream. It was done in a very simple way. A rope was flung across by one party of villagers, and made taut at both ends; a cord was then thrown over to those who had the bag of wheat. This bag was slung on to the rope, and the cord fastened to the loop by which the bag hung; the other side then hauled it across, the loop of the bag running freely along the rope.

Whilst on the subject of streams I cannot refrain from describing the way in which the men and boys fish. Their rod consists of a long thin male bamboo with large rings, made of twigs fastened on it; through these rings the line runs. For a reel a small flat piece of wood is held in the left hand, and round it the line is twisted. In letting out more line, or taking it in, the angler coils or uncoils this line with marvellous rapidity. No hook is used, but to take its place there are a dozen or two fine gut running nooses which are invisible in the water; in the midst of them a small piece of red or yellow cotton or cloth is tied to serve for a bait, and the unfortunate fish rushing at this finds himself hanged by one of the nooses; and when pulled out of the water he hangs motionless, with a sort of surprised look on his face, as if he could not quite make out how it was all managed.

I came to the conclusion that this is a perfectly legitimate way of fishing, for it requires skill, and knowledge of what coloured cotton is likely to take the fancy of the fish, skill in playing your fish, &c., &c. Lovers of the gentle sport in England might not agree with me, but let them try the noose instead of the hook before they condemn it. I have mentioned that English sportsmen frequently visit Garhwāl. I went out shooting very often, but was not fortunate enough to see much. For one thing it was the close season for most game, and, for another, there were no shikarries worthy of the name, and though bears and panthers abound in the jungles I never saw a single one. The panthers do a good deal of damage to the villagers' flocks, and they set very ingenious traps to catch them. The trap is built of large stones, and is just big enough to allow a large panther to stand up in it. At the further end is a small compartment in which a puppy or small dog is tied which, by its cries, attracts the panther. When the latter enters the trap he steps on to a board, to the further end of which a piece of string is tied, the string runs up to a wooden catch, and the panther on touching the board, sets free this catch; a grated door then drops down behind him and imprisons him in his narrow cage, and at the same time a large flat stone drops down between the dog and his enemy, and thus the panther is scored off all round. In the morning the villagers come and poke at him through the grated door with sharp-pointed sticks till he dies, and they then take his skin to the civil authorities and obtain a money reward; I forget how much it is.

The villages of the Garhwālis are very picturesque. Perched generally half-way up a mountain, one sees nicely whitewashed cottages with slate roofs (for slate abounds in these mountains), and all around them lie their fields in terraces. But, though picturesque at a distance, they are not so pleasing on close inspection, for the people are utterly regardless of sanitary arrangements, and the streets are filthy to a degree. The result is that villagers suffer

from outbreaks of plague, the regular old London plague, which commences with the swelling under the arm. When an outbreak of this fearful malady occurs in a village, it is at once deserted, and the sick are left to die, which they invariably do, having no one to tend them.

For a long time, owing to the various passes being blocked by snow, I had to confine myself to the valleys of the Alaknanda and Pindar streams, which meet at a place called Karanpryág. Wherever two important streams meet, the village has the termination "pryág" tacked on to it. When the snow was sufficiently melted to allow me to move over intervening hills to other parts I reached some highish altitudes, crossing once at an elevation of 12,000 feet. The scenery everywhere was very grand and beautiful, and one place at which I encamped, called Chaupta, I shall never forget. It was situated about 9,000 feet above the sea, and the snow was lying in big patches on the hillside. Right opposite my tent lay the mighty Himalayas, covered with perpetual snow, some of the peaks being, according to my map, nearly 23,000 feet high. The nearest snows were only nine miles off as the crow flies, and they seemed to tower over my camp. The hill I was on was covered with a magnificent forest of large holm oaks, very lofty pines, rhododendrons, and many other trees, the names of which I do not know. The ground was carpeted with violets, a sort of purple primrose or primula, purple and pink cowslips, buttercups, and many other flowers, amongst which, near a spring, I noticed a very large kind of marsh marigold. But the crowning beauty of the place was its rhododendrons. Hitherto I had always considered the Simla ones as a gorgeous sight, but they pale into comparative insignificance before those I saw at Chaupta. At Simla only the common red kind is met with, but at Chaupta I counted five shades of pink rhododendrons, from almost pure white with just a dash of pink in it to bright cardinal, and, in addition, two shades of the ordinary red kind. The whole of the mountain side

was blazing with these colours, and next day my road, which led me round the other side of the mountain, passed for miles through these gorgeous rhododendron trees, some of which stood quite forty feet high. Such a site for a sanatorium too! Plenty of water apparently, and room for a second Simla. The road led along the edge of grand precipices, and the view everywhere was superb, while the air was keen and bracing. They tell me that in winter the place is quite snowed up.

After leaving Chaupta I worked my way to Badrináth, where is one of the holiest shrines in India. I had to pass over the worst bit of road I had met with, leading up and down steep and broken stone steps; in some places, indeed, the road ceased to exist, having been swept away by winter storms and spring avalanches. The path ran along the Alaknanda ravine, which was narrower than ever, for I was not far from the source of the stream where it rises at the foot of the great Sotopanth glacier. In many places the cliffs rose on either hand in sheer precipices of great height, and the scenery was grand and wild. Before reaching Badrináth I passed through a village called Pándukéshwar, where there were two wretched temples. Just over the village towers an enormous precipice, on the top of which is said to be a seat where the five Pándús are supposed to have held their court. The road rises the whole way from Pándukéshwar to Badrináth until an elevation of over 10,000 feet is reached, and a very stiff climb I found it. I was now right in amongst the snow mountains, and vast masses of frozen snow lay across the path, and had to be crossed with great care, for the slopes at which they lay were pretty steep and a slip would have been followed by an involuntary *glissade*. In one place the Alaknanda disappeared for about two hundred yards under enormous masses of snow which had avalanched down the sides of the hills on both sides, and met across the stream. As I neared Badrináth trees of all kinds ceased, and nothing but bare rocks, scrubby thorn bushes, and masses

of snow met my gaze. I found the place to be a large village of about a hundred houses, but entirely deserted at that time of the year as it only exists for the thousands of pilgrims who visit it from May to October, and who apparently leave their old shoes as a token that they have been there, for the road was strewn with them. In the centre of the village stands the famous shrine of Badrináth or Badrinárayen, and a very poor specimen of a shrine it is, too, considering the thousands and thousands of rupees presented to it by pilgrims. There is merely a wretched little temple with some gold leaf stuck over the wooden roof of the shrine itself. Some steps lead up to a small porch which is about eight feet by five, and on these steps wealthy pilgrims carve their names. Beyond the porch is a dirty little courtyard about eight feet across, and then the building I call the shrine, some fifteen feet square perhaps. The door of this shrine was locked, and is only opened when the pilgrim season commences. No one is allowed to go beyond the top step unless he pays a lac or two of rupees, *i.e.*, from ten to twenty thousand pounds, which some do. What becomes of the money the high priest best knows. He has the title of Ráwul, and lives at Badrináth during the pilgrim time, and at Jóshimath, two marches off, during the rest of the year. He came to see me while I was at Jóshimath, and seemed a shrewd old man, very pleasant to talk to, and with some knowledge of Indian history; we had a long talk together. I found he originally came from the Madras Presidency, of which he is a native. After his visit he got one of my sepoy to ask me for a bit of my sponge, which he had seen, and which I suppose he coveted! Round the outside of the temple at Badrináth there are a few neat carvings in the stone work, but the building can no more compare with the temples I have seen in Rájputána, and other parts of India, than a village church with St. Paul's Cathedral. There was a wing half added to it, some twelve feet long, for which the late Maharajah Holkar, during his visit some

years ago, had given I am afraid to say how many thousands of rupees. This wing might have been easily built for two thousand rupees. Opposite the temple, and across the road, down a dirty little alley, lies an object of great wonder and veneration, and that is a hot spring. The water flows into a tank some four feet deep, and about twelve feet square.

All the pilgrims who visit the famous shrine bathe in this water, the temperature of which is considerably more than warm, and as apparently the only outlet for the water is the overflow of the tank, I judged the bottom to be pretty dirty. Just at the end of the village is a large stone platform jutting out into the Alaknanda ; this is said to be so sacred a spot that no one is allowed to walk on it. One of my men told me it contained the skull of Brahma, but others whom I asked did not appear to be aware of the fact. Altogether I was not particularly struck with this famous place, and my Mahommedan servant was disgusted and said to me, " They call this village the most holy place in India ; and the pilgrims spend millions of money on it, and yet what a wretched place it is. It cannot compare with our Khwāja's tomb at Ajmere, and the Adhai Din ki Jhompri, to say nothing of the Tāj at Agra. Why this is nothing at all ! "

When the old high priest goes to open the pilgrim season he is carried by coolies in a sedan, and the road is put into some sort of repair for the pilgrims. The opening day is fixed by the astrologers at the court of the Tihri rajah, and a great ceremony, I am told, takes place, accompanied by the following miracle. A great pile of cooking pots full of edibles are placed over a fire, commencing with a large one at the bottom, and finishing off with a small one on the top of the pyramid. The miracle consists in the food in the top cooking pot being cooked first, while that in the bottom one immediately over the fire is cooked last. There was to have been a miracle performed at Jōshimath while I was there. A man was to be

possessed by a god, and when the spirit entered into him he was to fall upon an unfortunate goat and eat the whole of it raw, and an enormous quantity of rice into the bargain. My men entreated me to come and see the performance, but I told them I was quite sure it would not happen because I was encamped there, and that my being so was a bad omen. I said, "You will see now, the high priest will make some excuse and say that owing to there being a sahib in the place the god will not come, and I prophesy the performance will not take place." However, they all went in the simplicity of their hearts, and I asked them afterwards what had happened. They said, "You were right, sahib; the high priest never came at all, and the man who was to have eaten the goat sent to say he was ill, and couldn't come to-day, and they have put off the performance till you leave Jôshimath." The old native officer I had with me was delighted at getting a chance of visiting Badrinâth, and bathing in the hot spring, for, as he said, it insured his second birth when he died. I call him old, but he does not show his thirty-two years' service, but looks a fine, sprightly young man. He was present during the Mutiny at the siege and storm of Delhi, where he was wounded in the forehead by a bullet which, glancing off a stone, struck him and knocked him over. He was then in the 2nd Goorkhas, and has now six medals and clasps on his breast.

It was excessively cold at Badrinâth, great masses of snow lay in the streets, and the perpetual snow mountains rose above the village. There the Alaknanda ravine opened out into something more like a valley, being about half a mile across in some places. I went for a walk while there towards the Satopanth glacier. On approaching the village of Mâna some two miles north of Badrinâth the Alaknanda turns sharp to the left, and the path I followed led along a very precipitous hillside on the right bank of the stream. I had to cross some slippery snow-drifts, sometimes having a dangerous climb up or down to avoid crossing others that did not look safe. At last I reached a spot where the

Alaknanda was rushing out from under a huge snow-field, but I dared not push on further as a fog was rolling down off the snows, and night was coming on, and the road was not a safe one to travel in the dark ; so I was not able to make sure whether this great snow-field was a portion of the Santopath glacier or not. During my stay at Badrináth I took possession of one of the empty houses in this deserted village, the best I could find, and lived in it. The lower part comprised two small rooms barely six feet high, evidently used as shops or store rooms. Five steep steps, about eighteen inches wide, led to the upper floor which was about seven feet from the ground. On climbing this stair you arrived at an open verandah with a door leading into an inner apartment ; this door was locked, but striding from the verandah over the staircase you stepped into a dark and dirty room six feet high, with a window consisting of an opening in the wall some twelve inches wide, and three feet high, a bar of wood running down the middle of the gap to the bottom. The owner of the house had evidently used this as a cooking place for there were the remains of a *chula* or fireplace, and the walls and ceiling were stained black with smoke which had vainly sought a chimney, and had eventually found its way out by the window. In this room I slept, while, during the day, I lived in the open verandah. The stairs continued through a doorway to a second storey, the women's apartments I fancy, as there was not a ray of light in the rooms except what struggled through a tiny window, and all was dark as pitch.

While I was at this village a storm came on, and it began to snow. I could quite imagine what a terrible place it would be to live in during the winter, not one single human being to be seen for miles, and then only in one direction, south, for Mána is also deserted except during the pilgrim season ; not a tree for firewood even ; nothing but rocks and snow, and a few birds, amongst which I noticed what I think was the golden-headed eagle, and a black bird with a red beak, some snow pigeons, and what appeared to be

huge flocks of small sparrows. Had I pursued the road northwards I should have reached the Mána Pass, some thirty miles on, across which, at an elevation of some 16,000 feet, the Márchas move to and from Bhútán annually. My coolies told me that in two or three weeks' time Badrináth would be a densely populated village with thousands of pilgrims, and that merchants would arrive with all sorts of goods for sale. I must say I should like to spend a few days there during the height of the "season" when all its wealth and fashion are to be seen. To me the place seemed oppressed with a vast sense of loneliness, and it had the appearance of a city of the dead with its silent and deserted streets amidst the masses of snow and rock, and one felt as if one ought to talk in whispers.

On my return to Jóshimath I was agreeably surprised to find an English officer there, a Captain P—— of the Buffs, who was out on a shooting excursion. I had then been out alone in the hills for ten weeks, and during that time had not met a single Englishman. We had plenty to talk about, and dined cheerfully together in a roofless house that was there. We intended going on two or three marches together, but his shikarry brought him in news of a bear, so he went off after it at about 3 a.m., while I pushed on a stage to a place called Tapuban, and went myself after a bear there. I had a tremendous climb, and was obliged to take off my boots and socks to climb up some sheet rock at a very nasty angle, with a hideous precipice on one side of me. My labour was, as usual, all to no purpose. I saw no bear, and neither did Captain P——, as he informed me next day when he rejoined me. We parted company the following day, and I climbed up into the snowy regions again on my way to fresh recruiting grounds. During this march I reached my highest altitude of nearly 12,000 feet above the sea, and I had some dangerous places to cross, over frozen snow lying in many places at an angle of about 45°. I was frequently obliged to dig places for my feet each step with the iron point of my khud stick (alpenstock), and was by no

means sorry when I got to *terra firma* again. On the march I turned aside to try and get some Tár or mountain goat. My shikarries led me up a high hill where the snow lay thick, and on reaching the summit I saw a fine field of frozen snow sloping away in a south-westerly direction. My search for Tár was fruitless, I did not see one, but my shikarries gave me a fine bit of climbing and scrambling on very precipitous and frozen ground. The snow melting every day in the mid-day sun of course saturates the ground with moisture, and in the early morning this wet ground is frozen hard, and very slippery. Clambering up or down precipitous ground of this nature, with a clear view of a valley about a thousand feet or so directly below you, is not a little exciting, especially when you are hampered with a rifle and a slippery pair of boots.

The natives use a sort of net-work slipper made of string when they have to cross snow drifts and slippery places, as this gives them a firm foothold. The view was very grand. The valley in which Tapuban, my last camping ground, lay was just below my camp, and the hills forming the opposite side of the valley were the bases of the snow mountains, and there lay peak upon peak covered with perpetual snow just across the narrow valley which separated my camp from those giant mountains. Their shapes are most fantastic, one being called "the elephant's back," by the natives, another "the horse's back;" some looked like sharp-pointed cones, others had immense black precipices on which the snow could not lie, though the summits were dazzling white with snow. As the morning sun broke upon these giants, whose tops reached to over 20,000 feet, it was a truly magnificent and stupendously grand sight; and they looked as though they were almost within rifle shot of me. On descending I came into a glorious scene of pink and red rhododendrons, mingled with which were the purple, the pink, the white, and the variegated pink and white simul or chamoola flowers. This is a flower almost exactly like the rhododendron, and the commingling of masses of simul and

rhododendron was a sight that almost surpassed what I had seen at Chaupta. Again I walked for miles through a blaze of colour set off with the dark foliage of oak and pine. I gathered a specimen of each of the different kinds of rhododendron and simul, and I also got a specimen, though not a good one, of the white rhododendron. This was a stiff march, but the next one to Rámri was the stiffest of all my marches. First a very steep descent to a river bed, and then a terribly hard climb of four or five hours. The first part of the way led through a jungle carpeted with large white wood anemones, and the latter part through rhododendron and simul. Here I saw five trees of pure white rhododendrons, and gathered some of the blossoms to press, but so delicate were the petals that they turned brown from pressure. Rámri I had always heard spoken of as "exactly like England." I cannot say I noticed the resemblance. It is a pretty place, but to my mind does not come up to Chaupta, of which I have already given a description.

On my next march but one I met two more English officers "out on the shoot," and sat by the roadside chatting to them while they breakfasted. They were as much struck by the beauty of Upper Garhwál as I was.

Besides rhododendrons numbers of wild flowers are to be met with, and I gathered specimens of nearly all I found. I discovered some daisies once which I carefully preserved. The violets have no scent as a rule, but I found some very large ones which were powerfully scented and very sweet; both the white and the purple kinds abound everywhere. Of fruits, the apricot, wild medlar, fig, walnut, and raspberry, seem the most common. There are quantities of Alpine strawberries, but utterly without flavour. The raspberries are a brilliant yellow, and when found close to water, they grow to as large a size as English ones, and are sweet and well flavoured. I gathered some of a deep orange colour, but it was the only bush of its kind that I saw. Tea gardens, which however do not pay, are scattered about throughout Garhwál, and the owners make a little profit by growing

apples, pears, cherries, and other fruits which they send down country for sale. I sometimes passed through a forest of horse chestnuts in full bloom, or along roads bordered with masses of wild white roses, with the delicious perfume of which the air was heavy; wild jasmine too, both white and yellow I found in great abundance. The Garhwālis go in largely for water mills to grind their corn. A small conduit leads the water from the river, or any small stream that is handy, to a convenient spot, and thence it rushes down by a pipe made of a small tree cut in half lengthways and hollowed out, and turns a water-wheel; in a little stone hut is the mill itself consisting of two mill-stones about eighteen inches in diameter placed flat on the ground. The upper one revolves at a great pace, and the grain drops into the centre hole of the upper mill-stone, out of a sloping funnel attached to a basket above. In order that the grain may not drop out too fast an ingenious device is resorted to. Two or three small sticks are attached lightly to the funnel, and rest on the upper mill-stone in which small nicks are cut. As the stone revolves these nicks jerk the sticks just sufficiently to cause them to impart a slight vibration to the sloping funnel, so that the grain falls slowly and in just sufficient quantities into the orifice in the centre of the upper mill-stone. There is generally a boy or a woman sitting in the hut collecting the flour as it is ground, but as often as not the hut is empty, the mill working away by itself with a loud clicking noise.

One day I came across a copper smelting furnace, conducted on strictly economical principles, and presided over by two men and two women, one of the latter being, to use an Eastern simile, as ugly as a sudden calamity! One of the men was the owner of the establishment, and of the neighbouring digging whence the ore was obtained. These people were in a miserable hut on the Dóbri mountain, and their apparatus consisted of a small furnace made of mud, some mops made of grass tied on to a stick, a heap of charcoal, and a hole filled with dirty water. Their

bellows consisted of two goat-skins, an end of each skin being fastened to a blow-pipe made of mud; the other ends of the skins were held in the hand, open when the hands are raised, shut as they descend, by which crude means a good volume of air is forced into the blow-pipe. The two women blew the bellows, and the labour seemed considerable. The mud furnace was about two feet high, and a foot square at the top, narrowing downwards to a hollow five inches in diameter. The end of the blow-pipe bent down to the bottom of the furnace from the top, and always got consumed, and had to be remade after each lot of ore was smelted. Some burning charcoal was placed in the furnace, which was then filled to the top with fresh charcoal, the women blowing hard all the time. As the fuel burned and sank, copper ore was thrown on the top till all the fuel was consumed. The door of the furnace which was also made of mud was then removed, the ashes raked out with a stick dipped in water, and then the mops were saturated with water and dabbed on the molten dross. A crust was thus formed, which was lifted off by a stick. At length, after making and lifting out a dozen such crusts, about five shillings' worth of copper was taken out, and dropped into the hole containing dirty water. A new nozzle was then made of mud for the blow-pipe, and the operation commenced all over again.

At one of my camping grounds, an unfortunate man, who was dumb, came to me for alms, and showed me a small book in which various baboo pilgrims had launched out in English concerning him and his infirmity. Some of these attempts at writing in English were so rich that I copied them. Here is one: "This poor Brahman seems to be deprived of speaking organ. It appears from his several certificates that his family also is deprived of some organ or other. All people who wish to show pity on poors will help this poor Brahman. (Signed) Didar Singh, schoolmaster, 21st N. I." Another ran as follows: "This Brahman I hope the other gentlemen support to them and cannot

“speak and have talk.” Another one read also very funnily : “This fellow is certainly too meserable on account of his being both deaf and dumb. He wants help from the public for God’s sake. Paid 4 annas.” Again : “Please any small donation may be given to the bearer of this book. He is actually dumb, and more so, very poor.” Another writer wrote out most of the beatitudes, including : “Blessed are they that their persecution for ritousness sake for their’s is the kingdom of heaven.” I failed to see how this applied to a Brahman born dumb. The best of these compositions was signed “Loftus,” and was as follows : “Hoping that everybody shall help the man as far as they can. The bearer of this I presume a Brahman, is apparently dumb as I have by subjecting him to a test thoroughly satisfied on this point though it might be questioned whether he only sustains life on milk, if so milk must be truly nourishing diet as his phisical condition testifies, this of course does not alter the fact he is really deserving of support which I hope the Chandasi populace will afford him. (Signed) Loftus.” Who Loftus is I cannot imagine.

On the 22nd of May I reached Kálu Dánda again all the better for my lonely tramp of five hundred miles, and having thoroughly enjoyed my three-and-a-half months wanderings through the beautiful mountains of Upper Garhwál. I had taken no horse or pony with me, and had walked just over five hundred miles in marches only, not reckoning distances traversed on shooting excursions and evening rambles. I found a great change in Kálu Dánda ; small houses already built and occupied, good broad paths, gardens laid out and planted, and last, but by no means least, three ladies and a number of children. The raw recruits had blossomed into smart, soldierly little fellows, with wonderful developments of muscle on their chests, legs, and arms. Our bagpipes, too, were in full swing, and filling the hearts of our Indian “Highland laddies” with delight and martial ardour. We have plenty to do in the way of drills, building barracks, levelling, and generally

assisting in the formation of the station. I am writing in June, the hottest month of the year, but the air is most delightfully cool up here, while I find the nights so cold that I have two large blankets doubled on my bed, as well as a single one. Altogether Kálu Dánda is a most desirable summer residence, and the officers who have been fortunate enough to be appointed to the regiment, are to be envied. We are all working hard at the interesting task of raising and training this battalion, and we are already proud of our little lads, with whom we have fully determined to create a regiment second to none in the three presidencies, for undoubtedly our raw material is of the very best, though its quality is, at present, known to only a few. Our men are to be armed with the Martini at once instead of the Snider, as other native regiments are, and we hope to commence our musketry course in a few weeks. The pity is that no more regiments of Upper Garhwális can be raised, for owing to the sparseness of the population there is only a sufficiency of young men to keep us going in time of war.

Altogether, our opinion is (and some of us have no inconsiderable experience of native troops) that Sir Frederick Roberts, with his usual sagacity and foresight, has created a regiment of which the Indian army will have cause to be proud hereafter.

F. M. RUNDALL.

THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

EDITED BY EDWARD SALMON.

CONCLUSION.—FROM PATNA TO MIRZAPORE, AND BACK TO
CALCUTTA.

"*Friday, July 16th.*—We left Patna at our usual early hour for starting, and reached the flag-staff ghât at Dinapore by noon. The King's 13th occupy the cantonments, together with a company of artillery, who received the Bishop (me) with the usual salute. Colonel Sale and the officers had sent me an invitation to Patna, which I had accepted for the evening. Mr. Ruspine, the chaplain of the station, whom I had seen at Patna, as well as Mr. Stevens, were at the ghât, and stayed with me whilst I received a visit from Colonel Sale, the Brigade Major, and Captain Povey, Commandant of the District. Brigadier-General Cox was confined to his chamber under a severe attack of gout. In the evening I went with Mr. Ruspine to see the church, which was begun, in consequence of Bishop Heber's earnest representations, when he was here in 1824, or rather after his visit of that date, and is yet very far from being complete. The present executive officer, however, is really in earnest, and it seems quite certain it will now be finished. It will be a spacious and handsome, but I fear, as things are arranged in that department, a very costly church.

"*Saturday morning.*—I visited the regimental school of the 13th, and found it in admirable order, consisting of adult boys and girls. The whole is exceedingly well

managed, and is found very beneficial. Many a valuable soldier has it been the means of rescuing from idleness and ignorance. Colonel Sale is a zealous disciplinarian, and knows the full value of good principles as the basis of the soldier's character; nor is he without respect for religion as the means by which these good principles may be attained and received. I trust the day is not far distant when he will be taught to look on these things as matters of personal concern, and not as merely necessary to regimental discipline. The station library is kept in a room adjoining the school. The original supply was very liberal, but it has not lately been increased. The books are in considerable demand, and the whole is conducted with perfect regularity under the careful superintendence of Mr. Ruspine. Besides the library, he has succeeded in procuring a separate room set apart for the use of a few devout soldiers who are under his immediate instruction. This is a valuable privilege to the individuals, and is productive of great advantage.

"Sunday, 18th.—The morning service was at half-past six in the school bungalow. Only one wing of the regiment could be accommodated at all; so many of them sat in the verandah. The room was filled this morning to suffocation, and, early as was the hour, was very oppressive. Besides the soldiers there were the families of the officers, and a great many old pensioners with their families, with whom Dinapore is a favourite station, together with some residents in the neighbourhood—indigo planters and their connections. In all there might have been six hundred persons. I preached with much interest—would that I could say with much profit! At ten I accompanied Mr. Ruspine to his service at the military hospital, and read and explained the fifth chapter of St. John. I had a most attentive audience, and I trust a not unmoved one. The hospital is roomy and well-constructed. Happily it has been an unusually healthy season; in consequence, a large portion is at present unoccupied. We returned to Mr. Ruspine's to catechize the school-children, and a very interesting two hours we

had. In the evening the Archdeacon preached to a considerable congregation, and so brought a busy and a pleasing day to a satisfactory close.

"*Monday, 19th.*—I went on board at daybreak, and amidst the smoke and noise of the artillery-salute quitted Dinapore. It will be interesting to compare what I have here stated with Heber's melancholy report of his visit in 1824. Some of the improvements may be dated from that visit, but a large portion of the actual good I have had the pleasure of witnessing must be ascribed to Mr. Ruspine; pious, diligent, consistent, faithful, he shrinks from nothing that wears the aspect of duty. I received a strong testimony as to the value of his ministry from Colonel Sale, who spoke of it not only in a professional way, but just as I could have wished, thus giving me one more proof of the truth I am eager to urge, that the most available instrument for good to India at this moment would be a zealous and enlightened body of clergymen. We have enough to prove our case, and the more the system is extended, the more evident will its benefits be made.

"We had expected to reach Chuprah to-day, but baffling winds and much tacking caused so much hindrance, that we were, at nightfall, full four miles short of our point, and it was late on Tuesday before we arrived. We separate at this point from our amiable young friend, Edward Thornton, who had expected to meet his brother with a party from Garrackpore, and the boat which was to convey him the rest of the voyage, but neither had arrived, though he had sent forward a dāk from Dinapore to see that the arrangements were all in order; but they were altogether in the air. Neither the boat nor his bodyguard had arrived. Chuprah, however, as a military station, had the usual number of English residents, and by these he was sure to be well taken care of; and to that care we left him and went on our way, making very poor progress.

"*Wednesday, 21st, and Thursday, 22nd.*—Two days of slow and tiresome progress brought us to a comfortable

evening station exactly opposite to Buxar. We did not cross, as there was some reason to fear we might get entangled in the headlands, upon which the fort and town are built, and thus be prevented from reaching Ghazepore before Sunday. The Archdeacon wrote to the General in command (General Martindale) explaining the reason of our passing, and proposing to fix the last Sunday in August for a visit on the way down. Buxar is a favourite resort for invalids and pensioners, who, with their families, demand much attention, which in some instances they have largely repaid by visible improvement. Buxar, moreover, and the villages opposite may be considered as objects of interest on another account—namely, the company's establishment for breeding horses for the service of the cavalry. The colts are bred here and sent up to Ghazepore when fit for service. The establishment is, I am told, on a most extensive scale, is admirably conducted, and fully answers the purpose for which it was begun. A well-ordered and successful establishment is pleasant to see in any country, but in India it has the additional merit of extreme rarity. Our apprehension of delay was not unfounded. Making the best we could of our progress, daylight failed as we reached the first outlying hamlet of Ghazepore, and as the *serang* informed me we were still four miles from the Residency, we came to on a nice airy bank, near an orchard of mangoes and graceful palm-trees, in the midst of which was seen a Hindoo temple of stately proportions, and kept—a circumstance which would be considered surprising in Bengal—in good order.

"An airy station is a very essential point for comfort, as the nights lately have been oppressively hot. It is impossible to describe how intolerable the suffering is which is caused by a hot night. Against heat by day we are in a certain sense provided, and if we cannot mitigate we can in a measure manage to endure it, but at night there is no means of mitigation, and the frame is too much exhausted for patient endurance. I remember the

energy with which Mrs. Heber spoke of her suffering from this cause. The present season is considered to have been singularly favourable, and we have not experienced this mode of trial more than four or five times, but this season's experience is quite enough to make me enter fully into all that can be said about it.

"*Saturday, 24th.*—I was on deck at the first break of day, and beautiful indeed was the coming on of the fair morning. We skirted the long, varied, picturesque town of Ghazepore for about three miles. Its appearance is of pretty much the same character as Patna, but more abounding in temples and groves. Many of these temples—and this is a fact to be carefully noted—have been newly built, or have lately undergone very considerable repair. They were chiefly Hindoo—perhaps four or five were Mahomedan—and those which appeared on the river had for the most part a superstructure of Chunar stone in solid masonry. It was in repairing these that much of the recent outlay appears to have taken place. No stronger proof could be given of the increasing prosperity of the natives. Hindoos rarely bestow their superfluous wealth upon their dwellings. Now and then a rajah builds a palace, but the wealthy classes do not feel themselves called upon to live in stately houses, and indeed prejudice and some remains of the old reluctance to appear rich combine to prevent them. There are some very striking views on the banks of the river. An old palace of the nabobs of Oude was built as a pleasure-house, where these potentates might divert and share the blessings of the sacred river. Nothing could be more exactly what a ruined sovereign's palace should be. The style is highly ornamental Arabesque, and many of the pillars and arches are constructed of the durable Chunar stone. The situation is commanding. Standing out from the groves and buildings of the ancient city, it presented a fit emblem of decayed magnificence, and seems to embody the whole history of the past and present state of India. The houses

of the civil servants are all placed beyond the limits of the town, and beyond them again, dispersed over a spacious plain, are the military cantonments now occupied by His Majesty's 18th Regiment. I had received a most obliging invitation to the Residency from Mr. Trotter and Mr. G. Bayley, who now occupy it in common. Mr. Trotter drove me from the ghât in his buggy, and I was soon installed in very pleasant quarters, as an inmate in the best and most nicely-situated house I have seen in India.

"Ghazepore presented so many objects of interest it was not easy to resolve to leave it. Upon consideration, however, it appeared that the necessary business could not be well got through in less than three or four days. Our arrangements, therefore, were fixed for staying till Wednesday morning. An account of my progress drawn up accurately would be like the instructions in the old play-books. Alarms, drums, trumpets; enter the Bishop of Calcutta, attended by &c., &c. Introductions, breakfast, visits from all and everybody. Saturday evening I made a diligent examination of a new church, which was reported as nearly ready, and sufficiently advanced for consecration. I found the walls and roof completed, but nothing done towards the internal fittings, or even ready to be done. I had no authority to act, for the executive officer is under orders from the military board, and accountable only to them. I could only point out the absurdities and mistakes in the plans. To all I had to say the officer in charge listened with that sort of acquiescence which denotes that the faults are perceived and acknowledged, but that there is neither the power nor the inclination to alter them. This is one proof more that the matter of church building must be taken out of the hands of this military board—that is, if the Government are really desirous that the money appropriated to that purpose should be advantageously administered.

"*Sunday.*—We had morning service at the usual place—the school bungalow, which is utterly inadequate to receive

half the Christian residents, and miserable as to accommodation and supplies of those who do attend. The congregation was numerous—not less in the room and on the verandah than six hundred. I went home with the chaplain (Mr. Ewing) to breakfast, and had the pleasure of hearing from his mother, who lives with him, of many old friends in the North of Ireland, where Mr. Ewing was born and had been long resident. At eleven I catechized the school-children and gave them an examination in Scripture, which was very satisfactory as regards the boys; the girls were deficient, pert, and ill-taught. How little I envy and how much I wonder at those who can survey the moral world and cry out that all is barren, that, look where they will, they find only a wilderness, wherein ‘no solitary plant takes root, no verdure quickens.’ For my part I rejoice that, go where I will, amid societies to all appearance uncared for, under circumstances the most unpromising, never do I fail to find some seed of good, fresh and growing and promising to yield a certain measure of fruit. In this regiment (the 33rd) I find the individual who acts as clerk, and who is also the bandmaster, a devout soldier, ‘fearing God,’ rejoicing in his Saviour. Then, again, the schoolmaster, born in the regiment and brought up at the drum-head, well instructed in all things that obtain to his soul’s health, and zealous and successful in imparting to others that knowledge of Divine things which he has himself received. The appearance in the evening service when the Archdeacon preached was very satisfactory. There were about two hundred present, and it was good to learn that the ordinary attendance was about one hundred and twenty.

“On Monday morning (26th) the candidates for confirmation had been directed to assemble. They were in number exactly fifty, chiefly soldiers with their wives and children. There was nothing in the demeanour of any of them to offend or dissatisfy. On the contrary, there was great decency and propriety, and all that could be asked for in outward seeming. There were, I trust, some, many even,

in whom there was much more than outward seeming. On Monday evening Mr. Trotter drove me in his buggy into the town. We did not penetrate very far. It is thoroughly Indian, with nothing beyond the first street to raise or gratify curiosity. There is somewhat more of an appearance of permanency in these up-country towns than we are accustomed to in Calcutta; but for disorder, wretchedness, and dirt, they are pretty much the same.

"A large party, civil and military, dined at the Residency. The station seems particularly fortunate in the appointment of its civilians. Our stock of pleasant intercourse and profitable information was much diminished by the absence of Mr. G. Bayley, who was kept to his room by indisposition. I have met with no one in India better informed or more alive to the great questions which now engage public attention. Tuesday morning was given to the hospital, or, as it might be called, the sanatorium; it is so extremely well situated, so airy and well-built. Here again the remarkable healthiness of the season was proved by the small number of men in hospital—about sixty out of a corps of eight hundred. The convalescents were about twenty-six. I was sorry to find but four Bibles in the hospital, and a scanty supply of Prayer Books. It appears, however, that the men may bring each his own Bible, but this is not often done. That most useful order of the Duke of York's is of the greatest advantage in so far as it is acted upon. The regiment has received and distributed about three hundred Bibles. It is surely satisfactory that we are prepared to speak of this as a scanty supply, and to take other measures to remove the deficiency.

"From the hospital we went to the school, where we had a long, diligent, and careful examination. It was pleasing and encouraging. Colonel Faith stated a difficulty which at the present moment seems very embarrassing. They have nothing whatever to offer the boys in the way of permanent employment. They are not, under the present regulations, each regiment having its full strength, allowed

to enlist, and here at a remote station in India what can be done for them? It is a difficulty out of which I do not see my way. But let us wait. The remedy will soon appear, for the difficulty is not caused by vice or crime or wrong. These, and these only, are difficulties irremediable.

"From the school to the library, nicely kept and in full activity. It does Mr. Ewing's superintendence great credit. About fifty of the men pay a small subscription, and this serves to procure an occasional supply of new books. After breakfast the morning was given to returning my visits and an inspection of the company's opium warehouse. This is the station for receiving all that is produced in the Upper Provinces. Patna is the centre for the opium of Bengal. It is, as is well known, a monopoly entirely in the hands of the Company. The process is this: Opium is allowed to be cultivated in certain districts, and when produced the cultivator is bound to sell his whole stock to the company's agents at a price named. The inspirted juice of the poppy—for that is its state when purchased—is transmitted in large jars to Ghazepore or Patna, where it is kept while it passes through a process, altogether natural in its normal state, and may be described as a sort of fermentation, during which it becomes much changed both in colour and consistency; it is, as the last step of the process, packed in the broad dry leaf of the poppy and placed in earthen pots, in which state it goes to Calcutta and is exported to China, where, as is well known, it is altogether contraband. Those who engage in this trade are liable to the punishment of death, and the article is burned forthwith. Such is the opium trade.

"It is clear to my mind that the soldiers in their several stations claim much of my attention, and must have it. Among them most the visible benefits of the mission will be found. I must be careful, therefore, to lose no opportunity of gaining so much of their confidence and esteem as may induce them to give attention to my recommendations, and to adopt the measures I desire to see acted upon.

"We left Ghazepore Wednesday, July 28th. Our up-

ward passage was full of difficulties and delays. What wind we had was for the most part unfavourable, but the river winds considerably, and little could have been accomplished by the sails under any circumstances. We were reduced, therefore, to depend mainly on the tacking rope, and as the river was now full, and running down with great violence, tacking was a laborious and slow operation. Its slowness was increased by an embarrassing hindrance which we found in this part of the river unusually frequent. Large fleets of upward bound country boats are moored along the shore waiting for a fair wind. To pass these by tacking would not be an easy business even to a set of Thames bargemen, but when it is to be managed by the dandees of the Ganges, it becomes a most momentous affair indeed. The rope has to be conveyed from hand to hand round and over the boats. A range of twenty boats would take us an hour to pass, and it may serve to give you some idea of the extent of the traffic when I state that we encounter five or six such squadrons every day. I was fairly left behind by our fleet, and two out of the three evenings was all alone.

"On Thursday night we were still so far short of our hoped-for point, that, in order to be something like certain of reaching Benares by Saturday night, the Archdeacon proposed despatching a messenger to the dâk master to request that bearers might be sent down by the river side to meet us. Bishop Heber met with a like embarrassment. We had come to near the village of Seedpoor, and, to make all secure, another messenger was sent to desire the jemautdar of the village to bring together as many bearers as he could furnish. He promised to have twenty ready by daybreak on Saturday, whom, as soon as they mustered, we took on board our boats with a view of getting on by water as far as we could, before we betook ourselves to our palanquins—a conveyance by no means desirable during the heat of the day.

"A toilsome pull the dandees had of it. We were at

least an hour forcing a way against an eddying stream abreast of the ghât and the town. The delay was vexatious and tiresome, but gave us an opportunity of witnessing the extraordinary tricks and way of life of a troop of monkeys who had established themselves in a large banyan tree which overhung the ghât with its monkey inhabitants. The ghât overshadowed a mosque or small temple; two or three grotesque-looking Fakirs on the river's brink and half a dozen surly Brahmins made up a complete picture of the folly, ignorance, and debasing corruption of the Hindoo superstition. The large baboon plays a very considerable part in their mythology, as under the name of these monsters one of their principal deities made choice of this as the form in which he would appear, and there is in consequence an imputed sacredness attaching to the whole race or species. One of these bulky caricatures of humanity seems to hold possession as the guardian genius of this spot, and as the dandees climbed the rugged bank he seemed inclined to dispute the passage and to act the 'Leonidas of this Thermopylæ of monkeydom.' After a little murmuring and chatting, however, he made good his retreat to one of the upper boughs of the tree, where he sat amid a *cortège* of some scores of every size and shape, clambering, jumping, grinning, quarrelling, and screaming in the wildest fashion. One monkey, dangling her cub in her fore-paws and squatting on a bough, was such a caricature of maternal attention as it was impossible to see without laughing.

"We at length went our way against the stream, and had proceeded slowly in spite of the current, unremitting in violence, for about two miles, when the tacking rope broke suddenly, and the pinnacle was whirled away down the rapid stream, threatening destruction to the baggage boat and other country craft, which were close on shore ahead of us. The dandees quickly manned the boat, and grasped the end of a second rope, and we saw some sepoys a little further down. We summoned them with no small shouting. The

men leaped on shore with the usual Hindoo alacrity, and, seizing anything they could, brought us up with a jerk, which broke the rope short asunder and left us running down the stream with no one on board but three or four clashees and my own servants. It looked very formidable at first, and we had run down at least a mile before our serang began to recover from his bewilderment. We then, however, got a sail ready, and looked out anxiously for an opportunity to make good use of it. A fishing-boat was at no great distance, and we called to the people who were in it, but the call was vain so long as it went no further than shouting, but when the 'baksheesh' was pronounced the whole matter was soon accomplished. The fishermen came alongside, took the end of the rope ashore, and tied it to a tree with as much alertness as could be desired. We were now made wise by past experience, and avoided a sudden jerk in bringing the vessel up by letting the shorter rope out slowly. Thus at last we were brought to exactly at the monkey ghât which had cost us so much labour to pass three hours before. There was nothing for it now but the palanquins. A pretty long interval succeeded, which was necessary to collect the rest of the people and to put the bearers in order. About three o'clock I managed to start, the thermometer being then at 93° in my pinnace. The heat, however, proved much less intense when we were in motion. About half an hour's march brought us to the Goomty, which was easily passed in a commodious ferry-boat. A mile further, I found the Archdeacon had halted, and was in readiness to accompany me in his palanquin. Leaving the rest of our party with the boats we pressed forward, as the day was now declining, and with one change of bearers we reached Secrole about nine o'clock, and were safely housed, or rather bungalowed, with the chaplain, Mr. Hammond. We attended service at their usual hour, six o'clock, on Sunday morning.

"I remained the whole week at Secrole, making three separate visits to the city of Benares: on Wednesday to

assist at an examination in the English schools ; on Thursday, with Mr. Morrison, the judge (with Captain Thoresby also, who is the superintendent of the Government schools), to visit the Hindoo temples and Jye Singh's observatory ; and on Friday to see the Sanscrit college and the English school recently established in connection with it. It would be impossible to give a detailed account of these visits without appearing to borrow, or rather to transcribe, the corresponding portion of Bishop Heber's narrative. As he left it in 1824, so I found it in 1830. Some of the individuals whose names he mentions renewed to me the kindness they had shown to him, and for the rest, though the names were changed, the parts sustained by them were exactly the same. Even the man with the red beard was there, and the Rajah Calisunker Gossant 'still halting between two opinions,' more than a Hindoo in knowledge and less than a Christian in practice. Perhaps in one point my narrative would differ from those of my predecessors ; it would record more strongly the feelings of disgust which the scenes described in a visit to Benares are fitted to excite. The vile and debasing character of Hindoo superstition cannot be fully understood by any one who has not been present in their temples. And, be it remembered, the rites we are permitted to look upon are those which are deemed least unseemly or disgraceful. There are things done in secret which even the Brahmins are ashamed of. What we saw and heard, however, was enough to produce a feeling of horror and disgust so strong, that I think nothing short of a most powerful sense of duty will ever take me again into the interior of a Hindoo temple. My visit to Benares has given occasion to a feeling of despondency such as I have not before experienced since I have been in India. Monstrous as the evils appear to be, and are in other places, I have always been able to discern something of good springing up side by side with them ; but there is not the same at Benares ; all the agency therein operates for ill. The long-established English

school has yielded no fruit ; its influence seems blighted by the corruption of the moral atmosphere in which it has been planted. The attempt to commence an English class with the Sanscrit school is yet too recent to be judged of. Captain Thoresby is an understanding, prudent man, and will be sure to turn his opportunities to account ; but his assistants are Bengalees, half-fledged students of the Hindoo college, who, from their promise of proficiency as learners, have hastily been converted into teachers. They may perhaps aid in imparting what little they know, but nothing like intellectual or moral discipline can be hoped for from such an attempt as this in its present form. The whole contemplation is most fearful. We are not, like the prophet of old, casting our eyes over a 'valley of dry bones,' and inquiring how they can be made animate with life, but we must look at evil under an aspect of the most violent deformity ; all monstrous, all prodigious things are matters of every-day occurrence. Our only answer, however, will be supplied us by the prophet—'Lord, Thou knowest,' 'Thy counsels shall stand, and Thou wilt do all Thy pleasure,' and when Thou givest the word, the idol altars shall be thrown down, and all their vile corruptions taken away. The school referred to as under Captain Thoresby's superintendence is kept in a detached building, and not far from the Sanscrit college, in the very last street of Benares. The scholars at present are only twenty-six in number, but they are for the most part the sons of persons of consequence—rajahs and wealthy Gossams. This is an important feature in the undertaking. On the morning of Thursday I had a visit from the Chaplain of Allahabad (Mr. Crawford), a most zealous and useful minister. He has given much attention to the native languages, and has attained a very unusual proficiency in 'Oordoo.' This progress has been much aided, and the sphere of his usefulness enlarged, by the assiduity of a fellow-labourer, an individual whose history involves circumstances, some of which are of more than ordinary interest. His name is Epasuf

Pachas, and he is the son of that Abu Thaleb who visited England about thirty-five years ago, whose travels were generally read with much interest. After his return, Abu Thaleb obtained some small Government appointment. I am not aware that he ever made any distinct profession of Christianity. Epasuf was certainly trained as a Mahomedan. He must by some means have been brought up in the 'fear and admonition of the Lord,' and these means have been largely blessed to him. He is now by profession openly and declaredly a Christian, and his walk and conversation adorn his profession. His services are most important; there is not a Mussulman in the whole district who ventures to put a slight upon him, so high does his reputation stand as a man of learning, and his whole demeanour is in consistency with his high character. We had a long and very interesting discussion, and he left in my hands two works: one, a history of his own life; the other, a statement of the evidences of the Divine character of our Lord, framed to meet the prejudices of the Mussulman. It is my intention, if these books, or either of them, shall be found, on careful examination, likely to be useful, to have them put to the press without delay. Mr. Crawford's example is very encouraging as to the desirableness of combining missionary exertion with the stated duties of a chaplain. No one is more exact in the fulfilment of all that belongs to his charge. His visit was peculiarly acceptable. Consistently with my present arrangements, my journey could not at this time be extended to Allahabad, but if I am spared to accomplish what is in my mind it will be included in the next year's progress, and this will make a sort of connecting link between the two.

"Saturday, August 7th.—One hour before sunrise we were in our palanquins on the road to Chunar. Our party had been re-united at the beginning of the week, the boats having with much difficulty reached Secrole on Monday. Our dāk party consisted of five palanquins and the needful complement of bearers, bungy wallas, and mussaulchies

made up a most numerous assemblage—a perfect mob of half-naked black men. The appearance of such a group in England ‘would fright the isle from its prosperity.’ The road was in a horrible condition, and after much wading and scrambling about we reached the river side opposite the fort at Chunar (having passed through the large cavalry station at Suttonpoor) about eight o'clock. The boats were wretched, and we were ranged side by side in our palanquins without the possibility of moving. A full hour was spent on the passage, but it was at last effected. I found the Commander's (Colonel Arnold) carriage waiting for me at the ghât. Colonel Arnold himself was absent, having been ordered by his medical friend to try a favourite remedy here—a voyage on the river. In his absence, the officer commanding the Artillery kindly invited me to his house, and in Captain and Mrs. D'Oyley I found most attentive and obliging hosts. Chunar presents many circumstances of interest. It was the scene of Mr. Corrie's labours as a chaplain, and has always been an object of his peculiar care. It has long been a missionary station (Church of England), and the name of Mr. Bowley is familiar with all who take an interest in the religious concerns of India. Mr. Bowley is now laid aside from public labours by an almost complete failure of strength, but his influence among the natives is considerable, and he is materially assisted by a native convert who embraced Christianity under the influence of Mr. Bowley's very enlightened ministry. A young man lately sent out by the Society as an ordained missionary exercised his ministry for a short time at Chunar, but was cut off by fever in the very outset of his labour. It was very delightful to hear the testimony borne to his excellence by Captain and Mrs. D'Oyley, and indeed by every one who spoke of him. The church described by Bishop Heber I found in excellent condition, but since Mrs. Friend's death the service would have been discontinued altogether but for the occasional visits of the chaplain from Benares. How deeply this is

to be lamented will be made apparent when I state that the congregation at morning service was not more than two hundred. I had twenty candidates for confirmation. In the forenoon I examined the station school. This is in some respects a novel, and promises to be a very useful, plan. Instead of requiring the pensioners to send their children down to the orphan school in Calcutta, an allowance is made to them of three rupees a month till they are forward, and they are required to attend a daily school, the master of which receives his appointment from Government, with an allowance of twelve rupees a month. In these stations, when the officer in charge takes an interest in such matters, this is a sufficient opportunity to secure a very good school. At Chunar, the Fort Adjutant, Mr. Stewart, has the whole school in excellent order, and I had much pleasure in witnessing the behaviour and appearance of the children. They answered very well and distinctly, especially in a general examination in Scripture. Captain D'Oyley had taken me to visit and inspect the fort on Saturday evening. I can add nothing to Bishop Heber's description of it, except to correct a statement in respect to which he seems to have been misinformed. The spot within the fort which Colonel Robertson called the most holy place in India is not, as he supposed, considered sacred to the 'Supreme Deity,' but to a tutelar divinity (an old Fakir) who lived and died on the spot, and is believed now to visit it some hours every day. This and an inaccurate statement respecting the ghōlak at Patna, the door of which does not open inwards, as he was told,* are the only inaccuracies I have observed or heard of in the Bishop's journal. The Archdeacon preached to a considerable congregation on Sunday evening; it was deeply interesting to witness this, which we must reasonably look to as the close of this faithful minister's personal labour at Chunar. There was a train of thoughts and feelings that came along with it over his own mind which he was constrained to admit was nearly

* Bishop Heber, vol. i. chap. xi.

overwhelming. All that he had himself seen and known, all that in twenty-five eventful years a mind like his could anticipate of possible good for India, must, at that moment, have been present before him.

Monday was a day of rest and letter-writing. In the evening we visited a very extraordinary assemblage of Mahommedan tombs. It is difficult to ascertain who these men have been in their day, but unquestionably the grandeur of them is figured in Daniel. The views of all the separate structures are in accordance with it. It is called simply the Durgate—which means, I believe, sepulchre. I heard at dinner this evening from Captain Jenkins, the Fort Adjutant, several anecdotes of Trimbuk Jee, the State prisoner, whom Bishop Heber mentions, and whose atrocities hold so very prominent a place in Sir John Malcolm's narrative. It appears that he maintained to the last the same habits of mind and way of life; his time and thoughts were divided between saving money and pining out his captivity. He always said that he should be released in the twelfth year of his imprisonment, and in the October of that year he did actually die. Great pains were taken to ascertain the circumstances of his death, and to record them, and before the body was buried it was identified by persons of credit who had known him when alive. All these precautions are highly necessary when we have to do with a people so fraudulent, so suspicious as the Hindoos. There are three State prisoners in the fort at Chunar now. There is nothing remarkable about them. They had been guilty of violence to the persons of magistrates. Those who know India well are of opinion that judicial functionaries should never stir abroad without an escort of some kind. 'A single Janna is sufficient.'

"*Wednesday, 10th.*—We had been waiting with much anxiety for an east wind to take the pinnaces forward to Mirzapore, but we waited in vain; the breeze was rising from the westward. We had conceived the idea of going on by dāk, but the accounts we had of the swollen state

of the 'Nullahs,' and of their frequency on the route to Mirzapore, deterred us from the attempt. The Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie, moreover, were both far from well, and desirous, for many reasons, to return to Benares. It was determined, therefore, that our party should separate, the budge-rows only going forward; and it was a prudent plan. I went on board Mr. Spiers's light budge-row, but though the crew was strong and active, and laboured without intermission, it was late in the afternoon when we reached Budooly Ghât, which, we were told, is five coss from Mirzapore by land, and treble that distance by water. A note despatched to Mr. McNabb apprised him of our position, and soon after dark a supply of bearers arrived, and we were started by torchlight. There was a great deal of wind and rain, the road was broken and slippery, with waters out in many places, and it was not easy to keep the mussauls burning. We were several times in utter darkness. We were not long upon the road, but quite long enough to be able to form an estimate of some of the annoyances and dangers of a dâk journey during the rains. We reached Mirzapore about ten o'clock, and the pleasure of renewed intercourse with Christian friends seemed to recompense us for what we had endured on the way. I will not record, day by day, the occurrences during my stay at Mirzapore; they were not, in truth, eventful enough to furnish materials for a mere record, but the impressions produced by it are so deep, that they must, I am well satisfied to believe, prove lasting. Mr. and Mrs. McNabb, after much experience of all kinds, afflictive and joyous, personal and social, derived from what they have felt themselves, and what they have witnessed, are enabled now to concentrate all their thoughts, desires, and efforts to a single object; they 'do all things to the glory of God,' and every part of their life and conversation is stamped with those characteristics which testify 'whose they are, and whom they serve.' After long experimental acquaintance with the native character, and many an ineffectual effort

to improve it they have at length been brought to rest satisfied with what may seem at first a narrow field of labour, and set themselves to do good to those of their own household. The work was entered upon systematically only about six months ago. It was begun in faith and prayer, and has been maintained by faith and daily supplication, and now there is not one who keeps aloof. There are, of course, many gradations of attention and prayers, but there is not one who is not doing something. A very useful moonshee is retained in constant service, who is in belief, though not in profession, a Christian. At four o'clock each day he holds a reading, which is attended by all the servants who happen to be at leisure. The rest learn from their fellows or snatch a few moments from the moonshee in the course of the day. The summing-up of Mrs. McNabb's stated duties may stand thus: first, a boarding-school in the centre of the town of Mirzapore, diligently attended upon, the scholars but few, and the room intolerably hot, confined, and inconvenient; second, a Hindoo school, where the scholars are very numerous; and she has been most zealous in introducing, and is indefatigable in maintaining, order and propriety of conduct in both these schools. Every Saturday she has a class of eight (Mussulman). They were reading the Book of Genesis, and making inquiries, and bringing forward their difficulties for explanation. I had much pleasure in attending a sitting of this little party. It was a beautiful sight, those bearded Mussulmen seeking instruction in the Christian Scriptures from the lips of a woman. Sunday afternoon furnished a scene yet more gratifying. All the servants and dependents of the family (above thirty in number) assembled at two o'clock, when the moonshee read aloud a chapter, and Mrs. McNabb examined them as to their acquaintance with its meaning. She succeeded in putting a question to every one, and though some, of course, were more ready than others with an answer, none were wholly uninformed. One old man, who could not read,

and, as was supposed, could hear but very imperfectly, was an object of much solicitude with her, and when the people were sent away, he lingered for a few moments, and came up to assure her that he had understood a great deal, and though he could not hear so well as younger people, he hoped, by giving close attention, to learn as much as the rest. Mr. McNabb was present during the whole service, and gave much valuable and judicious advice and assistance. And so on Monday, after breakfast, I left Mirzapore, interested and impressed in no common degree by all I had been engaged in. The exertions made by Mr. and Mrs. McNabb have been aided and encouraged throughout by the cordial co-operation of their friends and neighbours, Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, who go hand in hand with them in all things. Mrs. Taylor has begun a Sunday class in the afternoon, and she assembled about thirty in her own house besides those who were with us. The whole of this visit proved indeed in very truth 'a time of refreshing,' and when I was coming away I was much comforted by calling to mind a saying of my dear Louisa [Mrs. Turner]: 'I love Christian friendships; they are made for eternity.'

"My voyage down the river must be told concisely. We reached Chunar Monday evening, Benares soon after breakfast on Tuesday. In the evening I went up to Secrole to meet a large station party at Mrs. Hammond's.

"Wednesday morning was fixed for the confirmation; the candidates were but fourteen. This is the only occasion upon which their number has fallen short. Immediately after the service we dropped down the river so rapidly as to reach Ghazepore on Thursday to breakfast.

"On Friday the new church was opened and consecrated, a distinction I shall frequently have occasion to observe. After the service, and breakfast at the Residency, I went on board, and reached Captain Gwatkin's house, on the banks of the river opposite Buxar, in good time for dinner. Early next morning I visited the company's stud, of which Captain Gwatkin is superintendent. It is a most

valuable establishment, much too costly we are told by the frugalists. But it does its work. All the company's cavalry are mounted from it; and there is an annual sale of the best horses to an immense amount. In the afternoon crossed the river to dine with Sir G. Martindell, commander of the fort. Our service on Sunday was in a building erected for public worship partly by the Church Missionary Society and partly by private contribution. The stated service is in Hindostanee, and is conducted by a converted Brahmin—a catechist of Mrs. Bayley's, and a very fine youth. The congregation is composed chiefly of the widows of deceased pensioners, one of whom, having received three hundred rupees on account of her husband's prize-money, gave one hundred towards the cost of the church. I have seldom seen more exemplary attention amongst the number. I was glad to meet Bishop Heber's friend, Mrs. Simpson. 'Corrien Musseer' is dead. There were ten candidates for confirmation. Those who understood only Hindostanee were examined carefully by the Archdeacon, who gave a very pleasing report of proficiency and state of mind. The Archdeacon also assisted in the service as interpreter. The confirmation was on Monday. On Sunday morning, at six o'clock, we mustered about one hundred in the little church besides children. At the Hindostanee service in the afternoon the number was sixty. We left Buxar about ten o'clock on Monday, and the next evening, Tuesday, we were at Dinapore, and came to at the church ghât before breakfast. Very considerable progress had been made in the church since my former visit, but it was not in a state to be opened for public worship. Our confirmation, therefore, was held in the schoolroom, and a most interesting testimony did it afford to the value of Mr. Ruspine's labours. There were seventy-three candidates, and I had the comfort of knowing that diligent and patient attention had been given to every individual amongst them. The confirmation was on Tuesday morning. I had visited and inspected Rammell's farm, and

the little public granaries, by far the most European establishment to be seen in India. After the confirmation on Friday I went forward to Bankipore. It blew very hard as we left our mooring, and, by something more than our usual awkwardness, the dandeers contrived to capsize the dingy, which went down like a stone. All of them contrived to scramble into the pinnace except two, who were hurried away by the stream. Our only remaining boat, the *Bholiah*, was at a considerable distance, but within hail. The men pulled away stoutly, and as the round, black heads of the swimmers could be discovered at a great distance, they easily saw their men, and succeeded in picking them both up, though much exhausted by the struggle. We reached Bankipore about two o'clock.

"*Sunday, 28th.*—At Bankipore I was most kindly and hospitably received as a guest by Sir Charles and Lady D'Oyley. They had sent me an invitation as I went up. My desire to avail myself of it had been much increased by knowing they were the intimate and much-valued friends of those whom I had so lately left at Mirzapore. My visit proved, in all respects, gratifying, and many things occurred in the course of it to make me glad that my arrangements were such as to allow of my staying for three days. I should be surprised and sorry if the memory of this short visit were soon to pass away. In addition to those matters of graver moment, there was much pleasure to be enjoyed from looking over Sir Charles's collection of drawings. His portfolios form a full and complete illustration of the scenery and much of the natural history of this portion of India. As an artist, I consider he is without a rival in this country; and he has lately turned his attention, with great success, to lithography. I have rarely seen specimens of that art more to be admired than those he has executed at a press in his own house. An active and most valuable ally in these pursuits is Mr. Smith, of Arrah, whose skill in Indian ornithology renders him very effective. Lady D'Oyley takes a lively interest in these matters, and is herself an

artist of more than ordinary merit. On Saturday morning I accompanied Sir Charles on a visit to his opium warehouses (he is the opium agent for the Patna district), which are still more extensive than those at Ghazepore. There is a very intelligent and active assistant in the agency, a captain, who is turning the whole power of an acute mind upon the subject, and endeavouring to diminish the cost of production, with the hope of keeping possession of the China market; but I am persuaded no warehouse regulation will correct the vices of the present system. There are several considerable public buildings at Bankipore, but, unhappily, no church. A very earnest representation was made to the Governor-General when he was here in the early part of the year, and he attended to it favourably, but nothing has yet been accomplished. The very amiable and respected chaplain, Mr. Hevens, made me acquainted with all that had taken place respecting it, and I am not without hopes that something may yet be done. We assembled at six o'clock, congregation about fifty.

"The heat of yesterday and this day, Saturday and Sunday, was most overcoming. I have rarely felt it so oppressive; it was well to be under the cover of a well-built house rather than a boat. Our evening service was attended by the family only, but it was peculiarly interesting. On Monday evening, at six, I consecrated a nicely-enclosed burial ground. Bishop Heber mentions the practice which prevailed here of making the garden a place of interment. It has been so general that there is scarcely one house without some such memorial. There is a durgah of this kind in Sir Charles D'Oyley's compound, close to the hall door. A stone much visited, for the devout Mahomedan 'loves to be seen of men' when he is at his protestations. 'Those who loved to pray standing at the corners of the streets, and who for pretence made long prayers,' were but the forerunners of the modern profession of Islamism. After breakfast we left Bankipore, and again I must express my hope and persuasion that the visit was for good. Our

party had been agreeably enlarged. Mrs. Wilson having carried on her labours with all her accustomed zeal and spirit was now returning, and joined our fleet in her budgerow. Mr. Wilkinson, whose valuable labours at Garrackpore in the service of the Church Missionary Society are so well known, had come down in a country boat on his way to Calcutta, where he hopes to meet Mr. Wilson, returning from England. He had lately been suffering from an attack of fever, so violent that for many days his life was despaired of; the voyage on the river will, it is hoped, prove beneficial to him. But the most important and interesting addition is Miss Bird, who has consented to spend some time in Calcutta with the Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie, under one condition—that the door shall not be shut on her missionary exertions. At this moment, if her health is granted to her, a wider sphere of usefulness seems open before her. In the meantime we have the pleasure of her society and conversation; warm with zeal for the best things, full of talent and useful information, she maintains an important post in our little circle. I trust we shall improve this opportunity; it rarely happens that so many individuals, all actively engaged in missionary labours, will be assembled with one accord in one place, and each keeping strictly to the appointed path of duty. When I came on board on Monday, word was brought that one of the dandees was exceedingly ill. Dr. Spiers had visited and prescribed for him, and everything was done to make him comfortable—according to a dandee's notion of comfort. But in less than an hour he appeared so much worse that I sent in all haste for the doctor, but before he could arrive the poor man had breathed his last. He had, it appeared, been suffering from some internal complaint, with violent cough, from the time we left Calcutta. I gave orders that they should stop whenever they thought fit, and arrange the ceremonies of the interment in their own manner. The place they fixed on was a Mahommedan burial ground on the river side, below Futwah. The body was taken ashore on a canopy, and the

whole ceremony took up nearly two hours, but I believe a large part of this delay was caused by waiting for a piece of new cloth from the town, to be used in wrapping up the body—a custom they are very careful to observe. The dandees were decent in their demeanour throughout, but there was no expression of sorrow. My own servants, both Mahomedan and Hindoo, were altogether careless.

“Wednesday, September 1st.—We managed coming down the river to have complete control over our arrangements as to time. We were able, therefore, so to contrive as to reach Monghir early in the morning, and to leave it in the afternoon of this day. We employed the first hours of the morning in filling the water jars. Here a striking illustration was afforded us of the abundance of hands, and the scarcity of occupation in this country. My servants had told some of the coolies at Monghir that they might come if they liked to the well—at least four miles off—and they could get a job. In consequence we found at least thirty of them ready at daylight, and the whole business was accomplished in one turn, and when they received something less than three rupees for their labours their gratitude was unbounded. The Brahmins who attend the hot spring were very importunate for an offering, and their head (a most wicked-looking old man) walked into the river as our boat was pushed off, announcing himself as the ‘hot water parchee,’ an appellation which he seemed to have peculiar complacency in proclaiming.

“We reached Boglipore early on Friday morning, September 3rd. The station is still without a chaplain, Mr. Pritchard not having returned from the hills. There were again several baptisms, and the Archdeacon, who discharges all the duties of a chaplain with as much alacrity as though it were really his office, appointed an hour to receive the candidates for confirmation. One chief object here was the school, which for many years has been maintained by the Government, for the people’s children who reside on the hill. It is still under the charge of Government and

Captain Graham, who gives much attention to it. The allowances have lately been diminished, and there is an apprehension that it is intended to abolish the school altogether, and to disband the corps of hill rangers. It would be a subject of much regret if this were done. This corps is the only direct agent in operation to impart to those poor mountaineers the knowledge of any way of life superior to their own. It has been altogether successful in the attainment of its primary object, which was to reclaim them from their predatory habits, and to put an end to their fierce conflicts with one another. For fifty years they have been kept from violence, but it is to be lamented that little has been attempted and nothing accomplished towards their civilization. If they were not sepoys they would certainly become robbers, and five times the expense would then be incurred in endeavouring to restrain them, as there must be a cordon all round the hill country. The school must be looked upon now as a tender to the regiment (the second haunt of Jungleberry), and as such I am willing to leave it, but I shall not be satisfied unless I succeed in establishing something in addition to it by which we may attempt at least, and I trust in a certain measure accomplish, all which the school should have effected. The Society had placed here one of its most promising missionaries to work among these people, and never did any one enter on the field of missionary labour more zealously than Mr. Christian; but he was cut off by jungle fever in the second year of his work, and it is a painful aggravation of his loss to know that his visit to the hills was made in opposition to the current advice of all the residents at the station. Captain Graham, who cherished a most affectionate respect for his memory, admitted that this was the fact. He himself made earnest representations to induce Mr. Christian to put off his excursion for a few weeks, but he thought the people were expecting him, and he had made a sort of promise which he held himself bound to keep; and the result was, as we know too well, his own immediate death, followed by that of his wife and several of his servants.

Now it is by the opening effected through the instrumentality of this faithful labourer that I trust good will eventually reach the Puharrees. I shall hope to get the Society some time to establish an English Christian Church, and, though established at Boglipore, that it may be managed in such a way that it could migrate bodily to the hills, for those two months in the year when it is safe for Europeans to visit them—February and March. The whole design is full of interest. What a subject for prayer to 'Him from whom all good counsels do proceed'! Oh! that I may be enabled to see distinctly, and pursue steadily, the right means attaining this most momentous object! The number of the Puharrees is estimated at 100,000. Bishop Heber's account of these people tallies exactly with all the information I have received. I have nothing to add to it but one fact mentioned by Captain Graham—that there is a third form of judicial swearing besides that mentioned by the Bishop. The people of one district hold no oath binding unless it is given kneeling upon a tiger's skin. The military cantonments are at a considerable distance from the civil service station, and are, it is to be lamented, altogether destitute of any place for public worship. The last place which Colonel Cameron, of the Buffs, could offer was a camel shed. To the camel shed, therefore, at sunrise, we repaired, and found this fine regiment marching from the parade ground. Camel sheds are not generally provided with the convenience of a roof, but a large mangoe tree answered the purpose admirably, and nearly 1,000 fellow-Christians were assembled for Divine service according to the ritual of the Church of England. I have long felt the value of the ritual as a privilege enjoyed by those who are members of the Liturgical Church, but never more than during this progress. Amidst all the variety of character and circumstance, there is a suitableness in our Church service which commends itself always to the judgment and feelings through every changing scene. In the sumptuous drawing-room, surrounded by the refinements of civil life, or here in the camp, with a

thousand rough spirits to be soothed and guided, there is not a single passage which strikes us with a sense of incongruity. This morning afforded me a striking illustration of the truth of this. At ten o'clock the civilians of the station assembled in the circuit bungalow for the usual morning service, after which a confirmation was held: some candidates had passed a very satisfactory examination. In the evening, family worship at Mr. Pringle's. So ended this busy day. I forgot to mention that on the afternoon of Saturday I had examined with much interest and satisfaction the regimental school of the Buffs. They have three schools: one for boys, for girls, and for adults. Nothing could be more pleasing; one boy, who answered remarkably well in Scripture, I found was a Roman Catholic. A large proportion of the men are of that communion; but the regulation for furnishing the private soldiers with Bibles has had a most blessed effect. Most of the Roman Catholics apply for Bibles, and many attend the school to learn to read them."

Thus end these extremely interesting memorials of an extremely interesting journey. I wish it were in my power now to materially supplement them by some account of the good Bishop himself. Some day it may be my privilege to do so. Very little, however, is known, or apparently was left on record, concerning Dr. Turner, and from September, 1830, when his journals close, to the time of his death, there is a much-to-be-regretted gap. In a letter from him, dated H.M.S. *Corti*, Cananore Roads, February 5, 1831, he declares that his account of his voyage on the Ganges will be his last attempt at journalizing. He appears to have followed up his visit to the Ganges stations by visits to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and to have returned to Calcutta seriously ill. The extraordinary severity of the work and the trying nature of the climate were, no doubt, responsible for his end, as they were responsible for the end of his three predecessors, and he died on July 7,

1831 (not 1832, as in the first part of these papers I wrote, following the MS. of a copyist who found the Bishop's handwriting difficult to decipher). I cannot close these pages more fittingly than by quoting the solemn but eloquent tribute to Bishop Turner's memory contained in an Extraordinary issue of the *Government Gazette* of Calcutta for Thursday, July 7, 1831: "With sentiments of the deepest concern, the Vice-President in Council notifies to the public the demise this morning of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; by which awful event Christianity has been deprived of a prelate of the highest character, whose conspicuous virtues, amiable disposition, and exemplary zeal in the discharge of his Sacred Duties must cause his loss to be mourned as a general calamity. . . . The flag of Fort William is to be hoisted half-mast high at Sunrise to-morrow morning, and minute guns to the number of 45, corresponding with the age of the deceased, will be fired from the Ramparts." So passed away the fourth Bishop of Calcutta, the successor of Middleton, of Heber, and of James, loved and respected by all, a gentle, earnest, untiring, self-sacrificing servant of Christ.

THOMAS PITT, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

THOMAS PITT,* grandfather of the Earl of Chatham, was Governor of Madras from the days of William III. to those of Queen Anne. He is chiefly known to Europe by his purchase of the celebrated "Pitt diamond," which was sold years afterwards to the Regent of France for £150,000, and which will be fully treated by Colonel H. Yule in the forthcoming volume that he is preparing for the Hakluyt Society. The story of his administration is told in the Madras records, which were investigated by the present writer some thirty years ago. It will be found singularly interesting from the light it throws on the relations between the British settlement and the Moghul authorities, in the days when the Moghul was the paramount power in India. It is also of historical and biographical value, as the same indomitable energy and force of will which characterized the two great war ministers of England were equally manifested by their ancestor during his administration of the settlement in what might be called the pre-historic era in the fortunes of the late East India Company.

The Madras Presidency, at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth, was a mere patch of sea beach on the coast of Coromandel, five or six miles long, and perhaps a mile inland. It included an English factory and fortress known as Fort St. George, and a large native town with villages of weavers and washers in the suburbs. The town might be called Madras to distinguish it from Fort St. George, but it was commonly called Black town to distinguish it from the little English settlement within the Fort which was known as White town. At the

* He was Governor of Madras from 1698 to 1709.

close of the seventeenth century Madras had grown to be a flourishing seaport, and was ruled according to English notions of law and equity by the Governor and Council, who were English merchants in the service of the East India Company.

The sovereign of India in those days was the illustrious Aurangzebe, the father of the beautiful Lalla Rookh, whose mythical story is told by Thomas Moore. Aurangzebe was known to all the courts of Europe as the Great Moghul. Before the end of the seventeenth century Aurangzebe was in the zenith of his fame and power. He had conquered the last Mohammedan Sultans of the Deccan who had held out against the Moghul arms, and notably the Sultan of Golconda and the diamond mines. He moved his camp and armies to and fro through the Deccan, resolved to conquer all the Hindoo princes of Southern India, and to bring the whole region from the Himalayas to Comorin, under the sway of the Koran and the Moghul. The little territory of Madras was comparatively independent of the Moghul. The country round about, known as the Carnatic, was a province of the Moghul Empire, and under the rule of a Moghul Viceroy or Nawab. But Madras itself was under English jurisdiction. The Nawab never interfered in its internal concerns, but was always open to a present, which was generally a bribe. The English paid a yearly tribute or contribution of 1200 pagodas, or about £500, which was supposed to represent one half of the customs and duties which were levied by the Madras Government on the goods coming in or going out by land or sea, and was regarded as the rightful due of the Moghul as suzerain and lord paramount of India.

On Thursday, July 7, 1698, the Honourable Thomas Pitt landed at Madras, and produced his commission as Governor of Forts St. George and St. David, and President of the Right Honourable Company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel, Orissa, &c.

Five days afterwards, the Peace of Ryswick, between

Great Britain and France, was proclaimed at the Fort Gates and Town Gates, and a great dinner was given by the new Governor to all the Company's servants and freemen of the settlement.

The Carnatic, being a Moghul province, was under the government of a Nawab as military commander, a Dewan as treasurer, and a Bukshi as paymaster. The Nawab Dawood Khan was much occupied in carrying on intermittent wars with the Mahrattas of the south, but he occasionally visited St. Thomé, an old Portuguese settlement, about three miles from Fort St. George, which was governed by a Moghul deputy or sheriff, known as the Foujdar. Later on Dawood Khan fixed his headquarters at Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, which was seventy miles or four days' march inland from Fort St. George.

Governor Pitt had reason to believe that the Nawab was brooding over mischief against the English. He sent a present to the Nawab at Arcot, which was the custom on every new appointment. Dawood Khan, however, returned the present as insufficient for his needs. He had given a great deal for his appointment, and declared that he must get it back somehow. He said that the revenues of Madras must be at least 100,000 pagodas a year (£40,000), whereas Governor Pitt only paid 1,200 pagodas (£500). He hinted that the English had nothing to do with Black town, and he threatened to appoint a governor of his own, and to keep the English to Fort St. George. Governor Pitt and his Council, however, were not inclined to send a costly present, and the matter was left to drift on in Oriental fashion.

Some time afterwards the Nawab again made his appearance at St. Thomé. Governor Pitt prepared to send him a present as a matter of compliment, but still suspected mischief, and continued his preparations for defence. Two companies of English soldiers were kept to their arms at Fort St. George to guard against a surprise. The guns on the Fort which pointed towards St. Thomé were loaded

with ball. Governor Pitt then sent his present to the Nawab at St. Thomé, but it was returned as insufficient in the same way that the previous present had been returned from Arcot.

Governor Pitt soon called a Council, consisting not only of the ordinary merchant members, but of the captains of all the European ships in the roads. The Nawab had been heard to say that he would not take less than 10,000 pagodas (or £4,000), and it was resolved that he should have nothing of the kind. Sailors from the ships were formed into a company of Marines. The trained bands of Madras were raised and armed. A volunteer company was formed of Portuguese inhabitants. Scouts were sent out. Cotton goods were called in for safety, and armed watchmen were posted in the out-villages. The Nawab and his servants were threatening all sorts of things unless the 10,000 pagodas were sent to St. Thomé. Numberless messages were sent to and fro, but Governor Pitt would not give in. At last the Nawab graciously agreed to accept the present which had been originally offered, with a few slight additions to cover the humiliation.

The day afterwards the Nawab at St. Thomé sent word to Governor Pitt, that he proposed to dine with the Governor and Council in Fort St. George, accompanied by his treasurer and paymaster, and he desired to know how many attendants would be admitted. Governor Pitt did not like the look of this proposal. He would not disband his forces as he feared that mischief was brewing, and he looked upon the proposed dinner as an excuse for getting inside the Fort. There was, however, no way of evading the matter, and he replied that the honour was greater than was desired or expected, but that if the Nawab was pleased to come he should be made very welcome, only he could not be admitted into the Fort with a force of more than 100 horse.

Next day at noon, being Saturday, July 12, 1701, the Nawab and his *grandees* were conducted into the little English

town of Fort St. George. The streets were lined with European soldiers; the works were manned with sailors in red coats and caps; and the curtains of the inner Fort were held by the train bands. Governor Pitt, attended by the members of his Council, the captains of the European ships, and other English gentlemen, received the Nawab outside the Fort gate, the Governor and Nawab embraced each other. Then they all assembled in Governor Pitt's own apartments, and drank to the health of the Great Moghul and his principal ministers, as well as to the health of the Nawab and his treasurer and paymaster. At each health a salute of cannon was fired, and the Nawab drank every health in cordial waters. The dinner was dressed by a Persian cook, and served in the Council-room, consisting of six hundred dishes small and great. When it was ready Governor Pitt conducted the Nawab into the room, and the Nawab and his treasurer and paymaster partook of every dish very heartily. After dinner the dancing girls were brought in to amuse the guests by their performances. Many presents were given to the three guests of wine and cordial waters, and about six o'clock in the evening the grandees returned in state to St. Thomé, expressing a wish to visit the European ships early the next morning, being Sunday. At sunrise the boats were all made ready for going to the ships, but the Nawab was utterly prostrated by the number of healths he had drunk on the previous day, and had no heart for going over the surf, and consequently remained at St. Thomé. A few days afterwards the Nawab went away from the neighbourhood, and there was a lull in public affairs.

Six months passed away. The Nawab returned to St. Thomé, and Governor Pitt once again put Fort St. George in a position of defence. The question of a substantial present was again raised, and Governor Pitt stoutly refused to entertain it; and the Nawab rose in his demands. A Moolah, or Mohammedan divine, was employed by the Madras Government to carry on the negotiations on

their behalf, as his ecclesiastic authority would protect him from insult. He was ordered to tell the Nawab that the revenues of Madras were raised from their own people who traded in Eastern waters, and not from the subjects of the Great Moghul; that the East India Company gave daily employment to 200,000 weavers and other artizans who were subjects of the Moghul; that the trade of Madras brought a large sum every year into the Moghul's treasury; that the English imported into India large amounts of silver and gold, and exported nothing but the produce of the country, and the labour of the Moghul's people; and that rather than be subject to such frequent demands for presents, the East India Company would prefer having a few years allowed them for getting in their effects, and then would demolish the settlement and quit the country.

The Nawab resented this message of defiance. He would not fight the English, but he would starve them into submission. His forces began to plunder the villages in the suburbs of Madras; the whole settlement was strictly blockaded, and all provisions, wood, and other necessities of life were prevented from entering British territory. Meanwhile the natives deserted Black town every day in thousands. The Company lost very heavily by the continuance of the blockade. The cotton goods, in the hands of weavers in the out-villages, were plundered by the Nawab's troops; and the bullocks and carts which brought the Company's commodities from up-country were stopped before they could enter Madras, and carried off to St. Thomé. At last matters reached a climax. The Moolah was again sent to St. Thomé to learn the final demands of the Nawab; but by this time they had been raised to the height of absurdity. The Nawab required the surrender of the whole settlement, including the private property of the inhabitants. If the English would yield all that was wanted, the Nawab promised to intercede in their behalf, and prevail on the great Aurangzebe to pardon all faults. It appeared that the Great Moghul was exasperated at

piracies which certain English interlopers had committed on his subjects in the Eastern seas, and had charged the Company's servants with being concerned in the piracies, or, at any rate, in not preventing them. Governor Pitt sent no reply to the Nawab. From February to April, 1702, the Fort was closely invested on the land side. Governor Pitt held out manfully, suffering many privations, and procuring what necessities he could by sea from other British settlements on the coast of Coromandel. At last it was understood that a present of 20,000 rupees to the Nawab, and of 5,000 rupees to his treasurer, would square matters. Accordingly the money was paid, the siege was raised, the plunder was returned, and the Nawab retired from St. Thomé, after spending ten times as much as he had gained. It was during this siege that Governor Pitt bought the famous diamond of a jeweller, who had fled from Golconda to Madras, to seek a refuge from the Great Moghul.

In September, 1702, the news reached Madras that William III. had died in the previous March. Accordingly the flag over the Fort was lowered and cannon fired in honour of the deceased sovereign, and Queen Anne was proclaimed at each of the four gates of Fort St. George, with many huzzas and loud demonstrations of joy, including three volleys of small shot, and one hundred and one discharges of small cannon. In the evening, Governor Pitt, attended by all the gentlemen of his Council, with the Mayor, Aldermen, and several other gentlemen in palanquins and on horseback, proceeded to the Company's bowling-garden, where a handsome treat was provided for all Europeans of fashion in the city, and the health of the Queen was drunk, with prosperity to old England and many others.

Later on there was more trouble. Although the Nawab had withdrawn from Fort St. George and Black town, he was bent on securing five out-towns or villages. These villages had been granted to a previous Governor of Madras, in return for certain presents of provisions and

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arms which the English had supplied to the Moghul armies during the wars against the Mahrattas. In the present day they are included within the city limits, but still bear the old names of Egmore, Vepery, Nuncumbaukum, Persevaukum, and Triplicane. Some of the Nawabs servants actually attempted to take possession of the villages, but were arrested by Governor Pitt and put in irons. Eventually they were set at liberty, but Governor Pitt threatened to behead them if they repeated the offence.

In Governor Pitt's time there were terrible conflicts at Madras between the Right and Left Hand castes of Hindoos. There was also a deadly quarrel between Governor Pitt and a certain Mr. William Fraser, who was second member of Council. Pitt was recalled, and a Mr. Gulstone Addison was appointed Governor; but died within a month, and left all his property to his younger brother, the celebrated Mr. Joseph Addison. Pitt's subsequent career will be told by Colonel Yule.

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UNLIKE Upper India, studded with monuments of ancient history, the delta of the Ganges, presents few places of interest to the antiquarian. Lower Bengal is generally as devoid of picturesque scenery as of objects of antiquarian interest. We have all heard of Saptagram and Subarnagram, and their once flourishing commerce with the West; but what remains to show their ancient greatness? No Colossuem, no Forum, not even a Hindu temple. Still there are a few places here and there, such as Gour and Nuddea, which cannot fail to be of interest to the diligent antiquarian or the student of history, and Rampal is one of them. It is not so widely known as it deserves to be. It is now a straggling hamlet situated approximately in latitude N $23^{\circ} 39' 5''$ and longitude E $90^{\circ} 32' 10''$, being about four miles to the west of Munshiganj, the headquarters of the subdivision of that name, in the district of Dacca, corresponding with the old fiscal division of Vikrampur. It was the seat of the old Sen Kings of Bengal, and notably of Raja Balla Sen, whose name has been handed down to posterity as the founder of Kulinism in Bengal.

"We know very little of what the Hindus have *done*, but we know much of what the Hindus have *thought*," says Cousin, in his History of Philosophy (Introduction to "Hindu Philosophy"). It is a great pity that the Hindus of yore have left us no history properly so called. Our poetry, our metaphysics, and our sacred works, and our treatises on various other branches of knowledge, have commanded the admiration of the whole civilized world; but, unlike the Greeks and Romans, we cannot boast of

history. Our ancestors were more imaginative than practical, and were averse to dry description of facts. In most of our antiquarian pursuits we are left at the mercy of tradition and such indirect evidence as is furnished by inscriptions and coins.

Such is the case with Rampal and the dynasty that reigned there. There are, however, no inscriptions of the Hindu period to help us in Rampal. The ruins, as the sequel will show, are not so important and interesting as in Gour and a few other places in Bengal. But there is abundant evidence to prove that Rampal was once a royal city. The large Rampal Dighi, or the artificial lake of Rampal, the huge mound which tradition points to as the *Bari* or foundation of the palace of Balla Sen, the very broad roads, and the existence of innumerable bricks which can be found buried under the earth wherever you dig in Rampal and its environs, are unmistakable indications of a ruined city of palaces. Old bricks of small size were found in such abundance in and around Rampal that they were carried in vast quantities to Dacca for building purposes. Such is still the case with Gour. Many stone idols of Hindu gods and goddesses have been found buried under the earth. There is a huge stone idol of Vishnu near the temple of Siva, in Atpara, about a mile west of Rampal, and I have seen many smaller idols collected by a Vaishnab in Abdullapur.

That Vikrampur was the seat of the Sena Rajas of Bengal has now been indisputably proved. In the prosaic part of the inscription in the copper plate containing a grant of land by Lakshmana Sena found near Torpon Dighi, in the district of Dinagepur, in 1874, we find: "Truly the good lord, good worshipper of Vishnu, good king, the prosperous Sri Lakshmana Sena Deba, meditating at the feet of Sri Ballala Sena Deba, from out of his victorious camp resident at Vikrampur, &c., &c." Even after the lapse of seven centuries of foreign rule Vikrampur is still the most formidable stronghold of Kulinism in Bengal,

and the home of very high caste Brahmans, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas. Tradition has it that the celebrated Hindu Raja Vikramaditya held his court here, and called the country after his name. No other part of rural Bengal can boast of so many high caste Aryan Hindus in such a small area. In density of population and in progress of education it is still the foremost place in Eastern Bengal. Though it has lost its ancient glory and greatness with the decline and fall of Hindu power, Vikrampur has still kept pace with the progress of civilization under foreign rule, and is one of the foremost places in India which have profited most by Western education and other benefits of benevolent British rule. It is still one of the principal seats of Sanskrit learning. It is bounded on the east, south, and west by the rivers Dhaleswari, Meghna, and Padma, all magnificent streams; and where could the Sen Kings find a safer and a better place for their capital in those days in which artificial fortifications were unknown? If Ballala Sena was the founder of Kulinism, where would it be found most prevalent? In Vikrampur, and it is so. Rampal appears to have been the only seat of the Sena Kings up to the death of Ballala Sena, but the later kings of the dynasty lived at Subarnagram, Gour, and Nuddea. Subarnagram, locally called Sonargaon, is also in the district of Dacca, being about four miles from the existing Bunde of Baidya Bazar, on the river Meghna. Lakshmana Sena, son of Ballala Sena, generally lived at Gour, which, according to the Mahomedan historians, he greatly embellished, and called after his name, Lakhnanti, or Lakshmanavati. Buddea was the seat of the last Sena King of Bengal when the Mahomedans conquered the country.

It will not be out of place here to offer some observations on the history of the Sena Kings of Bengal with the assistance of the local traditions and the researches of antiquarians who have laboured hard to throw some light on the subject. Vira Sena, or Sura Sena, who, according to Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, is the same

personage as Adisur, was the first of the Sena Kings of Bengal. He flourished in the latter part of the tenth century of the Christian era, and probably reigned from 986 A.D. to 1006 A.D. He lived at Panchashar, which is still a large village midway between Munshiganj and Rampal. It was in his reign that the Brahmanas of Bengal had become so far degenerate as to be unfit for the performance of Vedic rites according to the Hindu Shastras, and it was he who brought down the five Brahmanas from Kanouj. The degeneration of the Bengal Brahmanas was evidently due to the prevalence of Buddhism under the auspices of the Pal Kings. All the Brahmanas proper of Bengal now trace their descent from one or other of the five Brahmanas imported from Kanouj. Tradition has it that Adisura married Chandramukhi, the daughter of Chandraketu, the contemporaneous king of Kanouj. The queen desired to celebrate the Brata or rite of Chandrayana, but, as the Bengal Brahmans were found incompetent for the task, the king, upon her recommendation, prevailed upon his father-in-law, the king of Kanouj, to send down five Brahmans well versed in the Vedas and Shastras in general.

It has not been possible to ascertain with historical accuracy how many princes reigned after Adisura till we come to Ballala Sena, the most renowned of the Sena Kings of Bengal, but tradition has it that Samanta Sena, Hemanta Sena, and Vijaya Sena reigned between Adisura and Ballala. This has been confirmed by the three copper plates and inscriptions which have thrown a flood of light on the genealogy of the Sena Kings. The first plate was found in 1838 by Mr. J. Prinsep in the district of Bakarganj. It was a copper land grant of one of the dynasty, Kesava Sena. In 1865 a stone inscription was found by Mr. C. T. Metcalfe in the Rajshabye district. The third inscription was found by Mr. E. V. Westmacott in the Dinagepur district in 1875. In a valuable recent Bengali work by Mahimachandra Mazumdar, called "Gaure Brah-

man," or Brahmans in Bengal, I see that another copper plate was found near the Sundarbans by a landholder of Jaynagar, but I am not aware whether it was presented to the Asiatic Society or not. The date of discovering the inscription is not given in the book. It is a land grant of Lakshmana Sena, said to have been deciphered by Pandit Haladhar Churamani of Tribeni. It also mentions Vikrampur as the seat of the Sena Kings. The inscriptions clearly establish that there were at least nine kings of the Sena dynasty who successively reigned in Bengal, namely, (1) Vira Sena, Sura Sena, or Adisur, (2) Samanta Sena, (3) Hemanta Sena, (4) Vijaya, alias Sukha Sena, (5) Ballala Sena, (6) Lakshmana Sena, (7) Madhaba Sena, (8) Kesava Sena, and (9) Lakshmaneya, alias Asoka, or Sura Sena. They give us no clue about dates. In his paper on the Sena Rajas of Bengal, published in vol. xxxiv. of the Journals of the Asiatic Society, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra has given a chronological table of the several kings, which he subsequently changed in his second paper on the subject published in vol. xlvii. of the Journals of the Asiatic Society. The dates of the first four kings are admittedly based on conjecture, and the matter must be left to future research for greater elucidation. According to Dr. Mitra's last chronological table, Vira Sena ascended the throne in Bengal in 986 A.D., and Vijaya Sena, the father of Ballala Sena, in 1046 A.D. The facts to which the inscriptions testify are corroborated by a Sanskrit work called "*Dana-sagna*," or the book of gifts, of which Ballala Sena himself is the author. In this work Ballala Sena describes himself as son of Vijaya Sena and grandson of Hemanta Sena. There is very little difficulty in settling the date of Ballala Sena. According to the Ayeen Akbari he ascended the throne in 1066 A.D. This date appears to be correct. It will be shown later on that Lakshmana Sena began to reign at least in 1106 A.D. Ballala Sena therefore reigned for forty years. It was in his time that Rampal attained the highest pinnacle of its glory. The principal works, the

ruins of which still exist in some form or other, are attributed to him. He was the most distinguished and most powerful of the Sena Kings of Bengal. He re-organized the system of caste which had fallen into confusion during the prevalence of Buddhism under the Pal Kings, and instituted Kulinism, or the order of nobility which still exists.

Rampal seems to have been neglected, if not altogether abandoned, after the death of Ballala Sena. Lakshmana Sena, his son and heir, lived chiefly at Gour. He appears to have been a powerful and distinguished prince of the Sena dynasty. He subjugated Benares, Prayag, and Srikhetra, or Orissa. The most important discovery about the Sena Kings of Bengal is, I think, the era of Lakshmana Sena. In Mithila or Tirhut this era is still prevalent. Its symbol is L.S., and it commences in the month of Magh; 1874 A.D. was 767 L.S. It therefore appears that Lakshmana Sena began to reign in the year 1107 or 1106 A.D., the commencement of his era. It was in his court that the immortal Jaydeva composed his "Gita-gobinda," the sweetest of Sanskrit songs. Three other poets, Umapatidhar, Saran, and Gobardhan Acharya, also adorned his court. It was during his reign that the power of the Sena dynasty was at its height.

Lakshmana Sena was succeeded by his son, Madhaba Sena, and the latter by his brother, Kesava Sena, who was succeeded by Lakshmaneya, the last of the Sena Kings. Lakshmaneya, who is identical with Lakhmania of the Mahomedan historians, was born in 1123 A.D., and, as he was a posthumous child, he reigned from his birth. He reigned, as we know, for eighty years, and it was while this old king was ruling at Nuddea that Bakhtiar Khiliji entered his palace and conquered Bengal with a handful of men. The Mahomedans subjugated Bengal in 1203 A.D., but their inroads probably began much earlier, as the traditional account of Ballala Sena's death given hereafter will bear out. They certainly invaded the Punjab frontier of

India as early as 977 A.D., and it is not unlikely that Mahomedan emissaries penetrated as far as Bengal during the reign of Ballala Sena in the latter part of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

The question as to where the Sena Rajas came from to subjugate Bengal, and what caste they belonged to, is, I think, still an open one. It is clear that the Pal Kings reigned supreme in this part of Bengal before the Sena dynasty subdued them. The Pal Kings were vanquished, but not altogether overthrown. They were driven out of Gour, but they retained their supremacy in Northern Bengal and Behar during the reigns of the earlier Sena Kings. There is no tradition in Vikrampur as to where the Senas lived before they subjugated Bengal. In the third stanza of the stone inscription found in Rajshahi we find Vira Sena described as *dakshinatya kshaunindra*, which means the southern king, or the king of the south. In "Laghubharata," page 107, part ii., the same king is described as *dakshinatya mahipati*, which also means the same thing. It is therefore very probable that the Senas came from Southern India or the Deccan. Babu Kailash Chandra Singh, in his Bengali work on the Sena Rajas, conjectures that they belonged to the Chola race of the South. But the theory has not advanced beyond the stage of hypothesis, and the matter must be left to future research for solution.

I now approach the consideration of a problem which has already evoked much animated discussion—I mean the question of the caste of the Sena Rajas of Bengal. Before submitting my own opinion on the subject, I will briefly examine the different theories that have been advanced, and the evidence on which they are based. I have obtained much assistance from the two articles of Dr. Rajendralala Mitra on the Sena Rajas of Bengal, and the Bengali work on the same subject by Kailash Chandra Singh, and also from the Bengali book by Mahima Chandra Magumdar, called "Gouré Brahman," to which I have already alluded.

Three theories have been advanced about the caste of the Sena Rajas : (1) that they were Kayasthas, (2) that they were Vaidyas or of the medical caste, and (3) that they were Kshatriyas. The first theory is that of Abul Fazl and the Mahomedan historians. It is not supported by any evidence other than the statement of the Mahomedans, who were likely to hold erroneous views on the subject of Hindu castes. It was never seriously entertained by the Hindus, and may be summarily rejected. The second theory is supported by tradition handed down from generation to generation, not only in Vikrampur, the old seat of the Sena Rajas, but throughout Bengal, and was universally believed till Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in 1865, tried to establish that the Senas were Kshatriyas. There is also a good deal of evidence in support of this theory, which I will consider later on. The third theory is the most recent one. It has been propounded by Dr. Mitra, a very high authority in antiquarian matters, and supported by others. It is based on some epithets of the Sena Kings found in the inscriptions discovered in Rajshahi, Dinagepur, and Bakerganj, and also in the Sanskrit work "*Danasagara*," of which Ballala Sen himself is the reputed author. These I will examine in the two following paragraphs.

Tradition must give place to reliable material evidence if the one is really inconsistent with the other, but before discarding a universal belief, the evidence should be most carefully interpreted. The evidence on which the theory of the Sena Rajas being Kshatriyas is based is the following. In the inscriptions found in the districts of Dinagepur, Rajshahi, and Bakerganj, to which I have already referred, the Sena Rajas are described as descendants of the lunar race; and as only the Kshatriyas have a right to trace their descent from that race, it is held that the Senas must be Kshatriyas. In the inscription discovered by Mr. Metcalfe in Rajshahi, Samanta Sena is described as a Brahma Kshatriya. The original Sanskrit is *Sa brahmakshatriya-namajani kulasirodama Samanta Sena*, Dr. Mitra's

rendering of *brahmakshatriyanam kulasirodama* is "a garland for the head of the noblest Kshatriyas." According to him, the word *brahma*, therefore, here means "noble" or "exalted." With due deference to so great an authority, I am of opinion that this meaning is not the correct one. We have various Sanskrit words compounded with *brahma*, such as *brahmachari*, *brahmarakshasa*, *brahma-daitya*, *brahmabadi*, *brahmadanda*, and so forth; and in all of these the word *brahma* retains its original radical meaning of Brahma or Brahmana. I therefore see no reason why it should not have the same or a similar meaning in the present instance. Dr. Mitra has not assigned any reason why he takes *brahma* to mean "noble," which is certainly not the commonly accepted meaning of the term, and cannot be found in the Sanskrit dictionaries. At any rate, this meaning would be a very far-fetched one. The word *brahmakshatram* occurs in Yayur Veda, and is explained by the annotator as meaning *brahmajñanam kshatra-birjancha*, or "knowledge of the Brahmans or the Vedas and heroism of the Kshatriyas." It is, therefore, not a caste epithet; and following the analogy, we can take *brahmakshatriya* here to mean a person who has the knowledge of the Brahmans or the Vedas and the heroism of the Kshatriyas—that is, one who combines both these qualifications in himself—and the clause in question may mean "a garland for the head of those who have the wisdom of the Brahmans and the heroism of the Kshatriyas," without any reference to race or caste. The word *brahmakshatra* also occurs in Adhaya 21, part iv. of the Vishnupurana, and is explained by the annotator Sridharaswami to mean that race from which Brahmans and Kshatriyas sprung. The meaning seems to be obscure. The word probably means a mixed race of Brahmans and Kshatriyas—a race sprung from Brahmans on the father's side and Kshatriyas on the mother's. There is a word, *kshatri*, which means a person born of a Sudra father and a Kshatriya or Vaisya mother. We have it from the Mahabharata that when the Kshatriya

race was being exterminated by Parashurama, the women of that caste began to marry Brahmanas, and Basista himself is credited with having married Kshatriya women. From that time the race of pure Kshatriyas is said to have become extinct. In Adhaya 24, part. iv. of the Vishnu-purana, Mahanandi is said to be the last king of the Kshatriya race. His son Mahapadmananda was born of a Sudra mother, and from him began the reign of Barna-shankara Kings, or kings of the mixed castes.

The above will, I think, be sufficient to show that Dr. Mitra's interpretation of the word *Brahmakshatriya* is probably not the correct one or the only meaning of the term. I have now to consider the description of the Sena Rajas as descendants of the lunar race. It is a well-known fact that all the princes of India, whether real Kshatriyas or not, have tried to trace their descent from the solar or lunar race of that caste. Even the Rajas of Chota Nagpore, whom Colonel Dalton very rightly thinks to be of the aboriginal Cole or Munda origin, claim to be real Rajputs; and, following their lead, the inferior landholders, who are undoubtedly aboriginal Mundas, are gradually setting up claims to be Hindu Rajputs. I found this process in full operation when I was in Chota Nagpore three years ago. If the Sena Rajas belonged to the Sankar race or one of the mixed castes, is it not very likely that they would aspire to be Kshatriyas, and trace their descent from the lunar race, and that their panegyrist, Umapatirdhar, a poet and a famous adept in the art of exaggeration, would exalt them into members of the race of the moon? Even now the Sudras of Bengal are looking up. Some time ago there was a movement among the Kayasthas for taking the "Jajnopairta," or the sacred thread, saying they were originally Kshatriyas, and at the present moment there is a similar movement among the Subarnabarnikas, who claim to have been originally Vaisyas.

In the Bakarganj plate found by Mr. Prinsep the title of "S'ankara Gaudeswara" is repeatedly applied to

the Sena Rajas. The word "Gaudeswara" means of course the King of Gour or Bengal, but it is not easy to explain the real meaning of the word "sankara" here. It is said to be written with a *talatya*, or palatal *s*. Dr. Mitra takes it to mean "excellent"; but he has not shown any reason for assuming this meaning, which cannot be found in the dictionaries, and is certainly not the commonly accepted import of the term. The word, when a substantive, is a synonym for Siva or Mahadeva, and when an adjective it means "auspicious." I find Mr. Prinsep translating the phrase as "the auspicious lord of Gour." It is well known that the Sena Rajas, at least some of them, were Saivas or worshippers of Siva, and the phrase may mean "the lord of Gour, a worshipper of Siva (Sankara)." But none of these interpretations seem to me to be appropriate. I am of opinion that the word *sankara* is an euphuism for *sankara* with a dental *s*, and then it must mean a mixed race, and the phrase would mean: "the lord of Gaura, of a mixed race," a suggestion which has been noticed in Dr. Mitra's paper. This meaning will be a very appropriate one here. Mistakes of a palatal *s* for a dental one, and *vice versa*, are not uncommon in the old writings; and when we remember that the inscription in question was written in the Tirhut type—which represents an intermediate stage of orthography between the Kutila and the modern Bengali character—the occurrence of such an error is all the more likely. Sridharaswami, the annotator of Bhagavata, mentions the commencement of the Kings of the Barnasankara, or the mixed castes, in India in his time.

In his own work, the "Danasagara," Ballala Sena does not call the Sena dynasty Kshatrya, but applies the epithet *kshatracharitracharya*, which means following the practices of the Kshatryas. So in the sixth stanza of the inscription in the copper plate found in the Sundarbans, the epithet of *rajanyadharmasraya*, which virtually means the same thing as *kshatracharitracharya*, is applied to Lakshmana Sena. It therefore appears that the Sena

Rajas are never distinctly described as Kshatryas. Does this not show that they were not pure Kshatryas, but belonged to a mixed caste? If they were Kshatryas, why is it not so stated in unequivocal terms? There is a legend current in Vikrampur that Ballala Sena was born of a Brahman father, the river god Brahmaputra, who visited his mother in a dream in the shape of a Brahman. Does not this indicate the mixed nature of the Sena race?

I will now briefly consider the evidence on which the theory that the Sena Rajas were Vaidyas is based. In the various *Kulapanjikas*, or genealogies of the Ghataks, as well as in "*Laghubharata*," Adisura, Ballala Sena, and other Rajas of the Sena family have been distinctly described as members of the Vaidya caste. It is very likely that Debibara Ghatak, Kubikanthahara, and other Ghataks of the Barendra Brahmans who lived about four centuries ago, and composed the genealogies, knew the true caste of the Sena Kings. They had apparently no motive to degrade them into a lower caste than the one to which they really belonged.

My contention is that the inscriptions of the Sena Rajas discovered in the present century are in reality not inconsistent with the genealogies of the Ghataks, and therefore not opposed to tradition. I think the inscriptions support the view that the Senas were of the Barnasankara, or the mixed caste. Manu recognizes three classes of mixed castes: (1) *Murdhabashikta*, or those born of Brahman fathers and Kshatrya mothers; (2) *Ambasthas*, those born of Brahman fathers and Vaisya mothers, who are identical with the modern Vaidyas or the medical caste; and (3) *Mahisyas*, born of Kshatrya fathers and Vaishya mothers. There was no practical difference between the Ambasthas and Mahisyas, and Vidyabhusana, the author of "*Laghubharata*," calls the Mahisyas Vaidyas as well. He calls Vira Sena, or Adisura, the founder of the Sena family, a Mahisya.

Remembering that as Mahisyas they were Kshatryas on the father's side, the Sena Rajas of Bengal naturally traced their descent from the lunar race of Kshatryas, and this explains the epithets in the inscriptions recently discovered. Probably the Mahisyas and Vaidyas became gradually amalgamated, and the Sena Rajas came to be regarded as Vaidyas, who are really a higher caste than Mahisyas. I am finally of opinion that the Sena Rajas were never pure Kshatryas, nor originally Vaidyas, but were Murdhabasiktas or Mahisyas, who were both allied to Vaidyas. The distinction afterwards wore away, and the Senas became gradually amalgamated with the Vaidyas.

I will now proceed to describe briefly the principal ruins and objects of interest in Rampal. I have visited them several times during my incumbency as sub-divisional officer of Munshiganj, and carefully collected all the traditions and legends by which they are enlivened. First of all, I will take the Masjid of Ba-Adam, or the mosque consecrated to the Mahomedan Fakir of that name. It is a pretty large, strong, brick-built mosque, with a high-arched dome. The bricks are of the same small size which characterize old Mahomedan architecture. The mosque has two massive stone pillars, which tradition identifies as the Gadas or clubs of Ballala Sena. It is in a dilapidated state, but is worth preserving. At present it is in the custody of a Fakir, who enjoys some rent-free Cheragan lands with it. It has a stone tablet in front, which bears the following inscription in Arabic:—

Kal-Allah-Hatala awennal-masajida-jilla-kul-Alad-u-ma'allaki Ilakan akhra kal-un-Nawi Sal-al-lahu Alaihi Sal-lama man Bana mas Jidan-Fid-dunia-Banal-lahu. Lohu kasran Fil jannah-Bana-Hajal mosjada Jalalat mulk kal Mazaffar Phi-zamanes-Sultani Ibn-us-sultane Jalalud-dunia ud-din-Abul muzaffar Phatteh shahu-Sultan Mahmud Ibn Shoku Sultan. Fi Sanneh Samaluiata O-Samaniana Tarikhduam shahre Rajjab 880 (Hijri).

The English translation of which would be as follows:—

It is said by the Allah, and it is true, the Masjids are for the Allah. Tell me, O Mohammad, are you invoking others with Allah? For him who has built a Masjid in the world, the Allah will build a palace in paradise. This Masjid has been built by the great victorious Badshah by a Badshah, who is son of Badshah praised by the world, named Jalalud dunya woddin Abul Mozuffar Phatteh Sah Sultan Mahmud, son of king, dated the 2nd day of Rajjab (Hijri).

It will thus be observed that the mosque was built by Badshah Phatteh shah Sultan Mahmud in 880 Hijri, or 1475 A.D., and is therefore 425 years old. The Fakir, to whose memory it is dedicated, died, however, in 1106 A.D. (supposing Ballala Sen to have died after a reign of fifty years), or 369 years before the mosque was erected. There is a similar mosque with a somewhat similar inscription in Quazi Quashah, two miles from Rampal. It is described in page 76 of Blochman's "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal." There is the following legend about the death of the Fakir, and the fate of Ballala Sen.

There lived a Mahomedan family in Kanai Chang, a village south of Abdullahpur, and not far from Rampal. The master of the house had no children. One day a Fakir came and begged alms of him, but he refused alms, saying, "I will give no alms when the Allah (God) has not given me the boon (child) for which I am praying so long." The Fakir predicted that he would beget a child, and asked him to sacrifice a bull to the altar of the Allah when his desire is fulfilled. He then went away without any alms. In course of time the man had a son born to him, but the Hindus would not allow him to sacrifice a bull. He therefore repaired to the lonely jungle south of Kanai Chang and secretly sacrificed a bull. Taking as much meat of the bull as he and the members of his family would be able

to consume, he buried the remainder under the ground and returned home. A kite, however, snatched a morsel of the flesh from him, and, another kite trying to snatch it, the morsel fell down in front of Raja Ballala Sen's palace. On inquiry, the king learned the whole story, and ordered the child, to commemorate whose birth the bull was sacrificed, to be brought before him and killed the next day. The Mahomedan learned the king's decree, and at night escaped with his wife and child and as much property as he could carry. He fled to Arabia, and meeting Hazrat Adam, a Fakir, at Mecca, told him all that happened. Learning that there was a country in which there was no religious toleration, and people were not at liberty to practise their own religious rites, Hazrat Adam came to Rampal with six or seven thousand followers. He began to sacrifice bulls and cows on the spot where the mosque dedicated to him now stands. Raja Ballala Sen sent his ultimatum, asking him either to leave the country or fight with him. The Fakir chose the latter alternative, and a protracted warfare took place between his followers and the king's army. The battles were indecisive for many days, and the loss of men on both sides was heavy. At last the Fakir's followers were reduced to only one hundred men. One day Raja Ballala Sen's men, while going to the market, saw the Fakir alone, reading Nawaj (saying his prayers). The king marched to kill the Fakir at this juncture, but as he was diffident of success, he constructed, before leaving his palace, a large Agnikunda, or a funeral pyre, which still exists in the form of a large pit, and asked the females of his household to kill themselves by falling into the fire if he was vanquished and killed. He took a pigeon in his coat and proclaimed that the bird's return to the palace without him would mean his death, and serve as a signal for the females of the house to perish in the flames, to save their

caste and chastity. Ballala Sena came to the Fakir and struck him with his sword, but the Fakir was invulnerable, and the sword would not cut his skin. After concluding his prayers, the Fakir asked Ballala what brought him there. "To kill you," replied the king. The Fakir asked him whether he would embrace the Mahomedan faith or not. The king of course answered in the negative. The Fakir said, "It is so ordained that I shall die at your hands. But no sword other than my own will cut me. So take this sword and kill me." Ballala took the sword thus offered and killed the Fakir at one stroke. His body was cut into two parts. His head flew to Chittagong, where there is still a prayer-house consecrated to him. His body was buried at Rampal, and the mosque was subsequently erected over his remains by the Padshah after the Mahomedan Conquest of Bengal. After the death of the Fakir, Ballala went to the tank to bathe and purify himself. As he left his gory clothes on the bank, the pigeon unobserved flew to the palace, and at this signal the females of the royal household threw themselves into the fire and perished. Soon finding that the pigeon had flown away, Ballala rode to his palace, but it was too late. Finding that all his family was killed, and life was not worth living, he threw himself into the fire and perished in the flames.

Such is the legendary account of the death of Ballala Sen and the fall of Rampal. The city appears to have been abandoned after his death, and I think there is a substratum of truth in the legend. It is a historical fact that the Arabs were the first race of Mahomedans who invaded Hindustan, and it is not unlikely that their missionary expeditions penetrated as far as Bengal in the eleventh century, and fought the Sen Kings, who had no standing army. The Pal Kings regained their ascendancy in this part of Bengal after the fall of Ballala. It has been asserted, and not without some show of reason, that Lakshmaneya, after his flight from Nuddea, took refuge in

old Vikrampur, and he and some of his descendants lived in Rampal or Subarnagram, and maintained their sway in this part of Bengal during the early years of Mahomedan rule. It is mentioned in the Bengali book on the Sena Rajas of Bengal by Kailash Chandar Sivha that probably there was a second Ballala Sena, who reigned after the Mahomedan Conquest. It first struck me that if there was a second Ballala Sen, he must be the prince who reigned at Rampal, and killed the Fakir Ba-Adam, and afterwards himself perished in the funeral pyre, thereby putting an end to the dynasty. But the theory is not based on any reliable evidence, while tradition distinctly says that the Ballala Sena who killed the Fakir was the founder of Kulinism, and the most distinguished prince of the Sena dynasty.

The next object of importance is the Rampal Dighi, or the artificial lake of Rampal. Formerly it was about a mile long, and about 500 yards broad. It is now fast silting up, and remains dry for nearly half the year. Cultivators have broken up parts of the lake with their ploughs, and now grow boropaddy in it. The following is the traditional account of the origin of the lake. Raja Ballala Sena once promised to excavate a lake as long as his mother would be able to walk in one direction without stopping, and this he undertook to do in one night, namely, the night immediately following the pedestrian performance of his mother. So one afternoon the queen-mother walked out of the palace and proceeded towards the south. After she walked some distance, the idea suddenly crossed the king's mind that if she walked much further he would be unable to cut such a large lake in one night and keep his word, and if he once broke the promise he made to his mother he would be doomed to eternal hell. After a short reflection he hit upon a dexterous device. He asked his servants to suddenly touch his mother's feet, and paint them with the red pigment (*Alaktaka*), giving out that a leech bit her there, and was sucking blood. The

servants did so, and the stratagem had the desired effect. The queen-mother stopped, and the point whence she turned homewards became the southernmost boundary of the lake. On that very night the king collected innumerable men, and excavated the whole lake. It was so large that one bank was not visible from the other. But for a long time the lake remained dry. Guided by a dream, Rampal, an intimate friend, and, according to another account, maternal uncle of Ballala Sena, one day rode into the lake, and, assembling a large number of men on its bank, asked them to call it after his name when it was filled with water. As soon as he entered into the lake water streamed up from beneath, and filled it in a moment. But Rampal vanished. Everybody cried, "Rampal, Rampal!" but he could no more be seen. Since that time the lake is called Rampal Dighi.

This explanation of the genesis of the lake's name never satisfied me. Rampal is also the name of Ballala Sen's city. Is it not strange that Ballala's city and the largest lake he excavated should be named after an obscure person unknown to history? Rampal is certainly the name of a person, and is analagous to the names of Bhimpal and other Pal Kings of Bengal. I conjecture that he was a king of the Pal dynasty which reigned at Rampal after the death of Ballala Sena, and that it was he, and not Ballala Sen, who excavated the lake, and the city and the lake have been named after him. To the north of the Buri Ganga there are still many ruins to show that the Pal Kings reigned in that part of Bengal, and it is a historical fact that they flourished both before and after the Sena dynasty. But as they were Buddhists, ruling over a population the mass of which were Hindus, their names have not been handed down to posterity with that halo of glory which surrounds the Sena Kings, who were orthodox Hindus, and great patrons of Brahmans and Brahminical learning. Again, it is a well-known fact that one of the characteristics of the Pal Kings was to excavate large lakes

and tanks wherever they lived. The Mahipal Dighi still existing in Dinajpore is, perhaps, the largest lake they cut in Bengal. For all these reasons, I am of opinion that the prince who gave his name to the city and lake of Rampal was a king of the Pal dynasty.

There is another but smaller lake in Rampal. It is called the *Kodalidhoa*, or the spade-washing Dighi. It is about 700 cubits by 500 cubits, and is still very deep. Tradition has it that when the excavation of the Rampal Dighi was over, each digger scooped out a spadeful of earth from a place close by, and thus the *Kodalidhoa* Dighi was made. The story, of course, is fiction pure and simple, invented to show that myriads of men were engaged to excavate the Rampal Dighi.

The next object of interest is Bari Ballal Sen, or the foundation of Ballala Sen's palace. It is a very large and high mound of earth, surrounded by a deep moat, about 400 yards by 300 yards. No architectural remains are visible. The cicrones point to a large black pit inside the house as the Agnikunda, or funeral pyre, in which perished Ballala Sen and his family.

Another object of interest in Rampal is the everlasting Gajaria tree. It is a large living tree, standing on the north bank of the Rampal Dighi. It is about 100 cubits high, and has two large straight stems. Trees of this species abound in this part of Bengal, and there is nothing peculiar in its appearance, only it shows no signs of age or decay, though it is undoubtedly very old. It is said to be immortal, and existing from the time of Ballal Sen. Respectable men, of seventy or eighty years of age, whose testimony I am unable to disbelieve, have told me that they saw the tree in its present state of growth from their very boyhood. The tree is certainly a botanical curiosity. It is held in high veneration by the Hindus, and various stories are current about its virtues and sanctity. It is worshipped by the women, particularly by the barren ones, who besmear it with oil and vermilion, in hopes of

being cured of barrenness. A Fakir is said to have violated its sanctity by cutting a root, but he instantly vomited blood and died. No one would now venture to tear a leaf or lop off a branch. A small fair is annually held under the sacred tree, on the eighth day of the moon, in the month of Chaitra, when it is worshipped by pilgrims from various parts of the subdivision.

The following legend explains the origin of the Gajaria tree's immortality. It was at first in a decayed state, and was used for tying up Ballala Sen's elephants. One morning some Rishis (hermits) presented themselves before Ballala Sen's gate to confer a boon on the king as a reward for his piety. They sent their message to the king by his doorkeeper. The man went in, and returning, said that the king was smoking, and was unable to come out that instant. After a while he was again sent in. This time he returned with the news that the king was besmearing oil on his body. The doorkeeper was sent in again, but he always returned with some excuse or other for the king's inability to come out and receive them. Once the man found the king bathing, and again taking his noontide meal, and the third time taking his siesta. He never communicated the message to the king, but only went in to observe whether he had leisure to come out or not. Disgusted with the king, the hermits left the palace, but at the time of departure they blessed the Gajaria tree, and conferred on it the boon of immortality which was originally intended for the king. Instantly the tree showed signs of vitality. Leaves and blossoms sprouted forth in every direction, and the people were struck with awe. The king came out shortly afterwards, and, being apprised of the news, immediately sent for the Rishis, but it was too late. The Rishis had vanished, and could no more be found.

There is a comparatively small tank in the southwestern part of Rampal which deserves a passing notice. It is called Raja Harish Chandra's Dighi. It is overgrown with trees and shrubs, which are flooded over with water for

a week once a year, at the time of the full moon in the month of Magh. Before and after that period the tank is dry. I have as yet received no satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon. The tank is said to have been excavated by Raja Harish Chandra, probably one of the kings of the Pal dynasty.

There is a mosque called Kazis Masjid, not far from Ba-Adam's. It is an ordinary plain-looking prayer mosque, which was certainly constructed after that of Ba-Adam. It boasts of no inscription, but has several stone idols of Hindu gods and goddesses in its verandah, which the proprietors have evidently preserved as trophies of Islam. The present Kazi of the mosque showed me a firman of the Emperor Alangir, granting lands for the benefit of the institution, but I cannot vouch for its genuineness.

There are two roads, the construction of which is attributed to Ballala Sen. The one connects the river Dhaleswari on the north with the Padma on the south, the other goes in a different direction from Rampal right up to the Padma. The latter is called Kachki Dwarja. The roads are now overgrown with trees and shrubs, and have in many places been broken up by the cultivator's plough; but what still remains clearly shows that they were once spacious roads as wide as thirty cubits. I once proposed to utilize the first-mentioned road in constructing one from Munshiganj to the police outpost at Rajabari, a distance of about twelve miles, but it was found impracticable. The Kachki Dwarja is named after the fish of that name. The astrologers had predicted, so the story runs, that Raja Ballala Sen would die of bones of fish sticking into his throat. To avoid such an unnatural and painful death the king refrained from eating any fish except the Kachki, which was devoid of bones. He therefore constructed the road to the Padma to enable fishermen to supply his table daily with the boneless fish.

The present state of Rampal is most wretched. A strange fatality seems to have overtaken all the old cities of

the East. Subarnagram, Rampal, Gour, Saptagram, and Nuddea in Bengal, have all met the same fate. Though on a far grander scale, Babylon and Nineveh have been similarly ruined. Once deserted, the old cities are abandoned for ever. In Europe the fate of old cities has been different. Many of them have survived the change of dynasties and even the conquest of foreign nations. Many of the towns and cities of the classic lands of Italy and Greece are still flourishing, and Rome itself is a splendid example. Rampal is now overgrown with weeds and scrubby jungle, often the refuge of wolves and tigers, and everywhere there is desolation and waste. The tanks and lakes have silted up, and where there were palaces and buildings there is now plantain and sugar cane. The very roads have been cut up and cultivated. Verily, in the word of the Prophet, "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation, but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and ostriches shall fill their houses, and the daughters of the owl shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance; these and the howlers (jackals) shall cry in their desolate houses, and wild hounds in their pleasant palaces."

These are all that is worthy of note in Rampal, the capital of the Sen Kings of Bengal. The objects of interest are comparatively insignificant, and any account is necessarily meagre, but I have tried my best to give a faithful description. I collected the materials carefully and faithfully recorded all the information available at the place, and if my meagre description invites the attention of able antiquarians, and promotes discussion and further research, and helps to throw some new light into the early history of Bengal, my labours have not been undertaken altogether in vain.

ASUTOSH GUPTA.

THE LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF POONA.*

THE publication of the papers mentioned below affords a fitting occasion for presenting to our readers a sketch of the history of the Land Revenue Administration of a Bombay Collectorate under British rule. The papers relate to the revision of the settlement under the Bombay Revenue Survey system introduced into Poona about thirty years ago and previously, in substitution for the remains of the old Mahratta methods of collecting land revenue, gradually modified by various reforms carried into effect from the commencement of British management. The Táluka, or subdivision of Mával, being the last in the Collectorate in which a revision had to be made on the expiration of the first term of thirty years for which the original settlement was guaranteed, a clear view can be obtained of the result of British land revenue administration in a whole district, and a good opinion formed of its success or otherwise.

To enable this to be done, it is necessary in the first instance to describe the state of affairs in this respect found in existence when we took possession of the country on the final overthrow of the power of the Peshwa in 1818. Materials for such a description exist in abundance in the reports of the early collectors, but perhaps the most graphic account is to be found in the Minutes of the Hon.

* "Selection from the Records of the Bombay Government," No. CCXL. New Series. Papers relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of 142 villages of the Mával Táluka of the Poona Collectorate.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Governor of the Presidency of Bombay. He presents the following picture :

"The office of Mamlutdar (chief native revenue officer of a subdivision, and nearly equivalent to the Tehsildars in other parts of India), instead of being conferred as a favour on a person of experience and probity, who could be punished by removal if his conduct did not give satisfaction, was put up to auction among the Peshwa's attendants, who were encouraged to bid high, and sometimes disgraced if they showed reluctance to enter on this sort of speculation. Next year the same operation was renewed, and the district was generally transferred to a higher bidder. The Mamlutdar thus constituted had no time for inquiry, and no motive for forbearance ; he let out his district at an enhanced rate to under-farmers, who repeated the operation till it reached the Potails (Patels, or headmen of villages)."

Some of the methods of collection are described as follows :

"If a ryot refused or was unable to pay his revenue, the Sebundy (revenue-collecting peon) pressed him for it, confined him in the village Choky (lock-up), exposed him to the sun, put a heavy stone on his head, and prevented his eating and drinking till he paid. If this did not succeed, he was carried to the Mamlutdar, his cattle were sold, and himself thrown into prison or into irons."

Such, then, was the state of affairs with which the British Government had to deal in commencing their administration of the chief source of revenue in India. With no record of the area of their landed estates, or even of their precise locality, except what might be termed in a Treaty the Purgunuah of So-and-so ; with old ties between landlord or proprietor and tenants broken up as a result of the iniquitous oppression of the farmers, which obliged every man to look to himself alone, and dissolved all the elements of cohesion that may have existed among communities or coparcenary bodies ; with lands from which the income of the State was derivable mortgaged or sold in large quantities to meet undue revenue exactions ; with no field registers or rent-rolls to show what taxable land still remained, or what such land had paid or could be fairly made to pay ; with no knowledge of actual facts, and no organized establishments instructed

in the method of acquiring such facts, difficult of themselves to ascertain, and rendered still more difficult by the reticence of hereditary district and village officers interested in concealing them—it was the task of our early administrators to evolve order out of chaos, and create a land revenue system capable of being carried into effect from one supervising and responsible centre, for the mutual benefit of the governors and the governed.

In his endeavours to restore order in the Poona Collectorate, which may be taken as a type of the rest of the Presidency, the first difficulty met with by the Collector, Captain Robertson, was to find respectable natives suited for the position of Mamludars over the subdivisions that were formed as most convenient for administrative purposes. A few of the better class of servants of the Mahratta Government were employed, mixed with others from Madras, who were supposed to be less open to corrupt influences, and to be more methodical and regular. The farming system was at once abolished, and annual settlements were for a time made with the headmen of villages, the foundation of the assessment being the amount each village had paid at a time when the people considered they had been well governed.

Settlements were in the first instance made by the collector on papers prepared by the district and village officers, but greater detail than such papers afforded was found indispensable as soon as individuals had to be dealt with. Gradually and by the grant of cash advances to assist the people in their cultivation, and by not unduly pressing for the payment of revenue by distraint of property, and by other means, every endeavour was made to improve the condition of the agricultural classes. As a consequence of these measures, and notwithstanding the continued fall of prices of produce that took place about this time, an increase of about 80,000 bighás (the area of the bighá varied in different parts of the country) in cultivation, and Rs. 80,000 in revenue, was brought about in

two years. The continued fall in the price of grain, however, caused a good deal of local distress and discontent, and, the monsoon of 1823-24 proving a failure, the revenue, which had been Rs. 10,37,880 in the previous year, fell to Rs. 7,30,910. The next year, 1824-25, was even worse, the rain having almost entirely failed. Little drinking water even was left, and cattle died in large numbers, causing many people to desert the country. The revenue in 1825-26 fell to Rs. 6,08,600, and in the two following years rose to only Rs. 9,00,650 and Rs. 12,55,620, whereas in 1821 it had been as high as Rs. 13,51,422. It was equally clear that no thorough reform could be carried out except by means of a detailed survey and measurement of lands. In 1825 Mr. Pringle, one of the assistants to the collector of Poona, was nominated for the purpose. This gentleman, having accordingly completed the measurement of the subdivisions of Sivner (*Junnar*), Pábal, and Indápur, in 1828, reported on the subject to the following effect. The principle of a share in the gross produce of the soil, to be levied by the State, laid down both in the Institutes of Manu and the Hidáya, was carried out by Acbar's Minister, Todar Mull, in Hindustan (1560-1600), and by Malek Ambar in the Deccan (1600-1626), and it was also that adopted in the ceded districts of Madras by Sir T. Munro, who was of opinion that the exaction of one-third the gross produce by Government would be sufficiently moderate to enable every landholder to derive a rent from the land he cultivated.

The opinions of the ryots themselves on such points were of little use, but the information drawn from them by the address of the assessors was very profitable. Mr. Pringle's method of classification was to arrange the soils in classes varying with the soil in each village, there being seldom more than nine classes in dry-crop, and three or four in garden and rice lands. When there were more than one class in a field, the average was taken. This was done by

the advice and with the assistance of the ryots, whose local knowledge made them the best judges of the capabilities of the soils, while the assessor availed himself of the opposite interests of the holders and of his experience in other villages to guard against unfairness or inequality. The classification being completed, the assessor proceeded to observe and record accurately the distinguishing characteristics of each class. Then he determined, upon the evidence of the most experienced and intelligent ryots, the nature of the crops usually grown in each class, the most approved course of rotation, the average amount of produce in ordinary years, and the several items of expenditure incurred, according to the usual system of cultivation adopted by ryots in middling circumstances, from the time of ploughing to that of selling the produce. In tracing the details of these, no circumstance, however trivial, likely to contribute to the accuracy of the result was omitted. The evidence as to produce was verified by actual experiments on crops in different classes of soil, and by comparison with similar experiments in other villages.

This grain produce was converted into money at the average of twenty years' prices taken from grain-dealers' books, either in the village or in the nearest market, and if the latter were at any considerable distance an allowance was made for cost of transport. In fixing these averages care was taken to procure them for all villages for the same years and months, and to see that the same weights and measures were used. In computing the expense of cultivation the number of bullocks required for a plough in each description of soil in a given quantity of land was ascertained by an estimate of their daily work, and the annual charge per acre on this account was calculated with reference to the cost of their food, their ordinary purchase price in the neighbouring markets, and a fair interest on such cost, the number of years for which they generally lasted, and insurance against casualties. The

cost of manual labour per acre was in like manner determined by the number of hands required to cultivate a given quantity of land, and their wages at the current village rates in cases where hired labourers had to be employed.

The cost of seed and manure, of implements, fees to artificers and village officers, sacrifices and offerings, and every item of labour or stock that could possibly form a charge on the produce before it was taken to market, with interest at the rate customary on tolerable security on all advances on which a return was not immediate, were all calculated, and a fair allowance made for insurance in all cases of risk. These particulars, with the authority for them, were recorded for every description of soil, and the difference between the money value of the gross produce and the expense of cultivation thus estimated formed in each case the standard by which its power of paying assessment might be brought into comparison with that of any other description in any other part of the country. The relative values of soils being thus fixed, the next process, that of fixing the positive assessment on each kind of soil, was determined by the amount of past collections, the area according to local measures being converted into acres where accounts had been regularly kept, and, where not, by an approximate estimate. For this purpose it was assumed that preference in cultivation is generally given to the best classes of soils, and the average number of *bighas* per acre in each class having been ascertained by the survey, the number of *bighas* recorded as cultivated in each year was converted into acres in that proportion, commencing with the highest class and descending successively through the others until the whole recorded area was accounted for. All cesses and fees, except those of village servants already allowed for in the calculation of expenditure, were included in the assessment. No allowance was made for remissions on account of individual poverty, and detached cases of lands

held on leases on favourable terms were not taken into account.

The area and assessment having been ascertained, the quality of the land had to be considered, a matter that had been overlooked in former surveys. The assessors having completed their part of the business, their work came under the inspection of the head assessor, who compared that of each with that of other assessors elsewhere. The classification was inspected, and complaints from the ryots heard. The estimates of the assessors were closely scrutinized, all particulars recorded, and apparent inaccuracies or errors traced to their sources. If satisfactory, the work was then confirmed by the head assessor, who, when the returns of all had been compared, combined them, and generalized for the purpose of equalizing the rates of assessment in different villages. These were generally found to be very unequal, because calculated independently in each village from past payments, which were liable to be affected by a variety of accidents. The head assessor thus performed for a whole district what the assessors had done for separate villages. He distributed among these, according to the proportion of their net produce, the total average amount realized from the whole. This was effected by calculating the value of net produce and assessment of all lands in the district at the rates fixed by the assessors for the separate villages, when the former of these sums divided by the latter would give the average proportion of the assessment to the net produce in the whole district. This, being applied to each class of land in every village, determined the accurate rate of assessment for that class with reference to the rest of the land in the same district and the payments of the whole in past times. All this was revised carefully, in similar detail, in Mr. Pringle's office. The general principles that had been followed were inquired into; the information collected was compared with facts observed and recorded elsewhere under similar circumstances. The value of the evidence,

authenticity of accounts, and reasons for the several operations were weighed and considered; the complaints of ryots were heard and investigated, and errors discovered in the course of the inquiry corrected. The proportion of the rate of assessment to the net produce was then compared with that in other districts, the opinions of hereditary officers and others invited, and on a consideration of all the circumstances the rates of assessment proposed by the head assessor were revised, or confirmed, or lowered. In such cases increases or decreases were made by means of a percentage on all the rates. Mr. Pringle admitted that the prosecution of the settlement on this basis would involve a degree of detail that would seriously impede its progress, but he was satisfied that no step could be abridged without sacrificing a proportionate degree of accuracy.

The system followed by Mr. Pringle has been explained in full detail in his own words, lest there should be any doubt as to the description, as Mr. Pringle is still alive, and it would otherwise be hard to apply to it the term of utter impracticability which the exigencies of history necessitate. The theory that assessment can be more correctly based on the net than on the gross produce of land is, of course, true, as the cost of raising an equal amount of produce on lands of various qualities and differently situated must vary considerably; but it is difficult to imagine how anything but a reliance on the magic power of figures could have led an able man to conceive that he could evolve a system that would establish the true relative values of lands to each other out of returns of their actual out-turn supplied by interested parties, however much checked by experiments on crops and in other ways, put together for calculation by non-agriculturists. The result, as will be seen hereafter, was that the whole of the operations were pronounced untrustworthy, and the measurements even, as well as the assessments founded on them, were in most cases cancelled.

The first subdivisions settled on the principles proposed by Mr. Pringle were Sivner (now Junnar) and Pábal. In the western valley (*khór*) of Madh the inhabitants were chiefly Kolis, people always ready on trifling pretexts to revert to their old habits of plundering. As the adoption of new rates according to the proportion given above would have more than doubled the assessments of these people, it was thought advisable, although the quality of the soil would have justified the increase, to make a reduction of 20 per cent. in the rates. In the two subdivisions as a whole the total assessment fixed by the head assessor on the basis of former payments was Rs. 4,79,804. This was reduced on general considerations to Rs. 4,12,752, being in the proportion of 54'03,125 of the estimated net produce. This assessment exceeded the "tankhá," or total of Malek Ambar's settlement, by Rs. 58,430, but was Rs. 61,190 below the average of past collections. The next subdivision settled was Indápur. It had at the commencement of British rule been placed under the collector of Ahmadnagar, and its settlement made, as in Junnar and Pábal, by imposing the full "tankhá," as shown in the revenue records. This was, however, to be reached only by gradual enhancements. For three years, as the rates were moderate, prices high, and crops good, Indápur flourished, but from a fall of prices in 1822-23, and the almost complete failure of the rains in 1823-24, the condition of the people was greatly impoverished. In 1826 the collector of Poona, to which district it had been transferred, tried to restore the country by granting village leases for five years at rentals increasing to 25 per cent. beyond Malek Ambar's "tankhá." Many of the villages refused these moderate terms, and those who accepted them failed in their engagements in 1826-27. As this plan had failed, the land was let out on "Ukti," or short terms, as people were willing to accept them. Mr. Pringle found the country in a wretched, half-deserted state. The materials on which to base a revision were

very scanty. Many of the ryots had left, and of those who were present many were merely "upri" or casual cultivators who took no interest in the proceedings. The proportion of past collections to net produce fixed by the head assessor was 25 per cent. This low rate was traceable to the accounts procurable, all relating to the late unfavourable years, including several in which land had been let out on low rentals. Sufficient allowance did not appear to have been made for the uncertainty of the rainfall in this tract of country, but even taking this into consideration, Mr. Pringle thought it right to raise the head assessor's proposed settlement by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., making the Government demand up to about $28\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the estimated net produce. Due allowance being made for the precarious rainfall, this would probably be equal to 45 per cent., or 9 per cent. less than the proportion fixed in Junnar and Pabal. All but one village seemed satisfied with the settlement, and in this one, after actual inspection, the head assessor's rates were confirmed. His total assessment, which came to Rs. 1,75,320, was raised to Rs. 1,97,232, and with the assessment on wells of Rs. 4,130, came to Rs. 2,01,362. This was Rs. 59,869 more than the "tankhā," Rs. 40,495 less than the Mahratta total assessment (*kamāl*), and Rs. 20,684 in excess of average past collections. It included alienated as well as Government land. On the latter alone the assessment was increased by $76\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but this was not considered of any importance when the low rates at which the land had been let at the time of the settlement were taken into account. Great changes in the assessments on individual holdings and villages no doubt took place, owing to the irregularity of former assessments; but Mr. Pringle was of opinion that even Mirásdars (hereditary cultivators) had no right to complain of an increase, as no title to exemption was conveyed to them either in the public records or by old title-deeds. They were, indeed, generally assessed more highly than other tenants under native rule, whereas

in Junnar and Pábal their payments were, on the whole, reduced by about 25 per cent.

In addition to Junnar, Pábal, and Indápur, Mr. Pringle's settlements were introduced into the subdivisions of Bhimthadi, Purandhar, and Khed between 1829 and 1831, and into those of Haveli, Mával, and Mohol (now in Sholápur) in 1830-31, but in practice the rates were never actually enforced. The nominal increases of assessment were in Bhimthadi $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in Purandhar $33\frac{1}{8}$, whilst in Khed the new rates caused a reduction of $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Owing to the failure of rain in 1829-30, large remissions of revenue had to be given, and balances due were allowed to remain outstanding. In 1830 and 1831 there were again failures of rain, and, it being evident that his rates could not be collected, Mr. Pringle in the latter year himself proposed that they should be lowered by a third. The Revenue Commissioner, on the matter being referred to him by Government, gave an opinion that a mere reduction of rates would be insufficient. There were strong grounds for doubting the accuracy of the measurements, as well as the other operations of Mr. Pringle's settlement, owing to suspicions of the dishonesty of his subordinates, whom the intricacy of his inquiries had prevented him from efficiently superintending, and the Revenue Commissioner suggested that a special inquiry should be made into the whole matter.

The collector reported that the work was so full of inaccuracies and frauds that it could not safely be made the basis of fresh assessments. Numerous cases of fraud were in fact discovered, and some of Mr. Pringle's subordinates were convicted on criminal charges and punished. A special officer was appointed to make the detailed inquiry suggested by the Revenue Commissioner, and, in the end, Government reluctantly came to the conclusion that the whole of Mr. Pringle's survey and assessment must be set aside. Being satisfied that these could not be made the basis of any revision, they directed that the whole operation should be commenced *de novo*. This was the commencement of

the now well-known Bombay Revenue Survey and Assessment. It was in the first instance decided that under the general superintendence and direction of the Revenue Commissioner, the work in each Táluka or subdivision should be carried out by the collector or his assistant in charge of it, aided by an engineer or other competent military officer. Various officers were appointed, the chief of whom were Mr. H. E. Goldsmid, of the Civil Service, and Lieutenant (afterwards Sir George) Wingate, who were to survey the subdivisions of Mohol and Mádha in the Sholápur Collectorate; Indápur was to be surveyed under Lieutenant Nash on the same system as that adopted in Mohol and Mádha; Bhimthadi, Purandhar, Khed, Mával, Junnar, Pábal, Haveli, with Barsi and Sholápur, in the Sholápur Collectorate, were all to be undertaken by different officers on a uniform system. Two important revenue reforms were introduced about this time—one, the appointment of Mahálkaris in charge of portions of subdivisions, to relieve the Mamlutdars whose charges were too large for them to superintend properly; and the other, the abolition of transit duties which the collector, Lieutenant Wingate, and other authorities, believed to be one of the chief causes of the ryots' poverty.

The frauds and oppression exercised by village and inferior Government officers under Mr. Pringle's system having been put a stop to, Indápur had somewhat recovered; and it was under rather more favourable circumstances that Messrs. Goldsmid and Wingate introduced their new settlement in 1837 into the petty division of Kalas in that subdivision. Mr. Pringle's measurements were adopted in all villages in which, on examination, the error proved to be less than 10 per cent., but, in all cases in which it was greater, the whole village was remeasured. The whole of the old classification of soils was rejected. The soils were then arranged in three groups—black, red, and yellow—according to their colour, each group containing three subdivisions. The nine grades were valued relatively according to the following scale:

					Rees (each $\frac{1}{12}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee).
1st black	...	...	...	...	300
2nd "	...	...	...	...	240
3rd "	...	...	...	...	175
1st red	...	...	...	...	230
2nd "	...	...	...	...	130
3rd "	...	...	...	...	60
1st yellow	...	...	...	...	100
2nd "	...	...	...	...	60
3rd "	...	...	...	...	35

The classers, in classing the soil, were bound to look to its intrinsic quality alone, by digging in several places in each field to ascertain the depth of earth, and assigning a lower value for shallowness and for such other visible faults, as an excessive quantity of stones, sand, lime, &c., too sloping a surface, or want of natural drainage. Other points, such as distance of fields from the village site, or water for drinking, were not to affect the soil classification, and were merely to be noted as affecting the value of the field for the consideration of the assessing officer. Where the soil in any field came under several classes, the area under each was to be estimated and an average struck. In the classification of garden lands under wells, it was found impossible to estimate the comparative value of the lands without ascertaining the quantity and permanency of the supply of water in the wells. It was then attempted to divide the land into classes, but the operation was found to be so complex, from its depending on so many different circumstances, that the attempt was abandoned, and an assessment was fixed on each garden. Each well had a nominal number of acres assigned to it, assessed at two rupees each. The highest assessment, inclusive of the dry-crop rate, placed on the land watered by one water-bag was Rs. 10. The assessment was on the entire garden, and the determination of the different shares to be paid by the partners in it was left to the people themselves, so as to prevent the interference of native officials.

At this early stage of the survey operations the system of dividing each tract of country into groups of villages for

maximum rates of assessment according to climate and market facilities does not appear to have been adopted. The maximum rate for the 1st black soil in the subdivision was fixed at 300 reas, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a rupee, and inferior lands were assessed according to the proportion in reas given above. The general result of the revision in the 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ villages first settled was to reduce the rental from Rs. 99,030 in 1836-37 to Rs. 72,790 in 1837-38, or 26 per cent.

In 1838-39 the survey settlement was introduced into the Kurkumb petty division of Bhimthadi, which was contiguous to Indápur. This petty division was similar in climate and other respects to Indápur, but the Pimpalgaon portion in the west had a much more abundant and certain rainfall. Kurkumb was in a very depressed condition from the ravages of cholera and other causes. More than half the arable land was waste, the villages were ruined, constant remissions of the Government demands were required, and outstanding balances had accumulated. The circumstances being very similar to those of Indápur in all respects save that of nearness to the market of Poona, the same rates as in the latter were adopted, with an addition of 10 per cent. on the latter account. In 1840 the collector reported that where the new settlement had been introduced nearly all the land had been taken up, there being in Kurkumb an increase of 14,837 acres in the cultivated area. In 1839-40 the larger division of Bhimthadi, Pimpalgaon, was revised. This had gone through the same trials as Kurkumb, and the people were but little better off than those in the latter. On the other hand, the rainfall was better, and enabled bájri, a higher-priced grain than jowári, to be produced. It had also the advantage of being nearer to good markets than Indápur. Accordingly, the maximum dry-crop rate was fixed at 15 annas in place of 12, an increase of 25 per cent., which gave an average rate of 7as. 10ps. the acre. This was raised between 5 and 6 per cent. by Lieutenant Wingate. The average in Indápur had been 5as. 11ps., and in Karkumb 6as. 6ps. In 1841

the result of the settlement in Indápur was favourably reported on—the Government revenue had increased, remissions fallen, and the condition of the people had perceptibly improved in consequence of the new rates. The use of carts in place of pack-bullocks had also become much more general. A comparison between the average area under cultivation in the two subdivisions, Indápur and Bhimthadi, in the last year of Mr. Pringle's settlement and the years 1840-41 and 1841-42 showed as follows :

	1839-40		1840-41		1841-42
Indápur ...	1,40,387	...	2,23,170	...	2,23,144
Bhimthadi ...	86,036	...	1,52,595	...	1,57,584

The spread of tillage had, in fact, been so rapid that the cultivation was superficial, and this was also shown by the stock of cattle in the district not keeping pace with the increased area under the plough. In revising in 1838 the survey reports on which the new system was sanctioned, Government approved of no attempt having been made to show what proportion of produce it was proposed to take as revenue. The great principle to be observed was to fix the assessment so low that while it gave the State its fair dues, it should not encroach on the just share of produce which the agricultural classes should receive. The assessment on gardens was really a well-tax, but the area under irrigation was so small that it was not of much importance. The principle of a higher assessment on such lands might be admitted as correct, but it was doubtful whether it would not be advisable to suspend the operation of the principle in order to encourage the sinking of new wells and the preservation of old ones—objects of vital importance in such a district as Indápur, where the rainfall was so uncertain. The country being pronounced by the local officers well able to bear the proposed rates, however, Government would not interfere to make any change, but as the standard of future prices was uncertain, and this was a first experiment, would only guarantee the

rates for ten years from 1838-39 ; they, however, declared their intention to continue the settlement for a further period if the beneficial effects expected from it were found to have resulted. The rates had not been fixed on such decisive and perfect principles as to justify Government in limiting their demand to them under every change of circumstances to which the country could by any possibility be liable. Events have fully justified these pregnant words, for while the value of agricultural produce has on an average more than doubled, the introduction of railways and the opening up of the country by the construction of roads must tend to keep up the general standard of prices: the rise of some and the fall of other markets has, moreover, considerably changed, and still continues to change, the relative values of land in different parts of the country in such a manner as to necessitate the readjustment of the tax upon it. In addition to this, the fall in the value of silver and in the rates of exchange, coupled with the great development of the trade in Indian wheat, constitutes a circumstance bearing on the assessment of the land of the ultimate effect of which we have even yet no firm basis for forming a reliable judgment. The rates were subsequently guaranteed for thirty in place of ten years.

In 1841 an order was issued by Government, on a proposal by the Revenue Commissioner, with regard to "Daleran," or hill-land cultivated with the bill-hook (*koitá*), that twelve annas per "koita" might be levied in the Khid, Mával, and Sivner (Junnar) subdivisions, care being taken that the system should be confined to such lands as were not capable of continuous cultivation, and could therefore not be included in ryots' permanent holdings or brought under the field settlement of the survey. All land capable of continuous cultivation was to be regularly assessed. In Haveli, Purandhar, and Pábal the practice appears to have been to levy an assessment of six annas a "bigha" on annual inspection estimates of the area cultivated—a practice of course open to much abuse.

In 1841-42 settlements were introduced into the Pábaland Haveli subdivisions. With regard to the former Lieut. Wingate reported that although the people were better off than in the rest of the Deccan, and many Mirásdars (hereditary cultivators) were still in existence, the country was far from prosperous. The villages were neglected, and the area of cultivation stationary at about 1,05,000 acres, about one-third of the arable land being still waste. Out of Mr. Pringle's dry-crop assessment of Rs. 1,55,000 there had been collected during the twelve years (1829 to 1841) for which it had been in force, an average of only Rs. 72,000. In the first three years of British rule the collections had been very heavy, averaging Rs. 1,60,000; in the fourth year they fell to Rs. 1,08,000, and thenceforward they had grown less and less. The early collectors had drained the country of its agricultural wealth, and caused the distress and poverty into which the ryots had been plunged. Remissions and outstanding balances had been heavier during the twelve years of Mr. Pringle's settlement than in the previous nine years of British rule. The rainfall was fairly uniform, except in a few of the Eastern villages farthest from the Sahyádrí range, and about equal to that in Pimpalgaon. There was a good deal of garden land, both channel and well-watered (Pátasthal and Motasthal), in the Ausari portion of the subdivision. Out of 5,900 acres, 3,900 were under wells, 950 under channels, and 1,150 under the two combined, but land irrigated from wells had hitherto not paid extra rates. It was now proposed to apply to these lands the system adopted in the Eastern districts, and to levy from one to three rupees per acre beyond the dry-crop rates, an exception being made in the case of one village which had almost a perennial supply of water from a dam thrown across the Mína river. Mr. Pringle's measurements proved to be fairly correct, and were adopted. The proposals for dry-crop maximum rates were various, those suggested by Lieut. Robertson being 33 per cent, above those of Indápur, those by Capt. Landon,

the assistant superintendent, 68·3 per cent. higher, and those by Lieut. Wingate 10 per cent. below the latter, or 58·3 above those of Indápur. The last of these were approved by Government, and would raise the assessment by about Rs. 20,000, or 26 per cent., above the average collections of the previous twelve years if all the arable land was brought into cultivation. The settlement included the Ausari, or northern portion of the subdivision, consisting of 34 villages. The measurements in some of these villages were found to vary from 17 to 52 per cent. in excess of the real area, and such villages were entirely remeasured; in those where the variation was under 10 per cent. the measurements were adopted. As this portion was nearer the hills, the rainfall was more certain than in the East, and the difference between the richer and poorer soils less marked than in the latter part of the country. The rainfall in a few villages in the North-West which were surrounded by hills was specially large and certain. In 1820 the revenue had been Rs. 80,260, but by 1828 it had fallen to Rs. 44,870; under Mr. Pringle's settlement it fell in 1836 to Rs. 35,270, and since then had fluctuated between Rs. 35,000 and Rs. 40,000, or less than one-half of what it had yielded in 1820. Out of 75,177 acres, 55,970 were cultivated, and 19,207 waste. It was thus evident that there was great need for reform in the assessment.

The Haveli subdivision was re-assessed in 1841. Being situated to the west of Bhimthadi, its rainfall was more certain than that of the latter. Near Poona the grazing land was very valuable, and as there was a large demand for grass, grain, vegetables, and fruit in the city, the prices of agricultural produce were from 20 to 25 per cent. higher than in Bhimthadi. As the red soils in the east of the subdivision approached more nearly to the black, and became more suited for the raising of wheat and grain, a change was made in the classification scale, and the former had four instead of three classes given to them. From this time forward the distinctive names given in the scale to soils of

different colours were done away with, and classification proceeded entirely according to the nine classes laid down in "annas," from sixteen, fourteen, and so on down to two annas. In the first twelve years of British rule the average nominal rental of Haveli had been Rs. 1,25,000, and in the last ten Rs. 1,07,760; in the former the collections had averaged Rs. 74,000, and in the latter only Rs. 58,000. Some improvement had been brought about by the grant of low leases with gradually increasing rentals, but notwithstanding these concessions, the subdivision was suffering from a high nominal assessment, with constant remissions and outstanding balances. In the ten years subsequent to Mr. Pringle's settlement these had slightly increased, and the revenue considerably diminished, as shown above. The maximum dry-crop rate now proposed was 550 reas, which, as compared with the 300 reas of Indápur, gave an increase of over 83 per. cent.

For rice land, of which the area was small, an extra assessment of Rs. 3 an acre beyond the dry-crop rate was proposed, and for garden land, as in Bhimthadi, rates varying from one to three rupees extra. The general result was estimated to give a rental of Rs. 72,000 on dry-crop, and Rs. 5,000 on garden and rice land, or a total of Rs. 77,000. Adding to this Rs. 15,000 on account of fees to village officers, &c., the total came to Rs. 92,000, or Rs. 9,000 beyond the average collections for ten years. In sanctioning these proposals Government directed that in neither Bhimthadi nor Haveli was any land to be assigned for free pasturage, but that the right to graze cattle on waste lands was to be sold field by field. This measure, apparently harsh when it is considered that the ryots had from time immemorial been in the habit of grazing their cattle in the village lands without payment, was in reality calculated to benefit them greatly by obliging them to get rid of the numbers of useless, wretched beasts that deprived the real agricultural cattle of much of the fodder that would otherwise have gone for their support, to the benefit of the country. It

will be seen hereafter that such was the real effect of the contraction of the grazing area, brought about by the great demand for arable land that arose under the survey settlements. In this settlement the principle of grouping villages for maximum dry-crop rates, varying according to distance from markets, was for the first time adopted. In giving sanction to an increase of 9 per cent. in the maximum rates of villages in the neighbourhood of Poona, and a decrease of 5 per cent in those more distant, Government cautiously directed that the adoption of the measure should be considered experimental, on account of the supposed difficulty of the operation. It will be seen hereafter that the principle has been adopted in all settlements subsequent to that time.

In 1841 a report on the survey system, comparing it with those in the North-West Provinces and Madras, prepared by Mr. Goldsmid and Lieut. Wingate, was submitted to Government. From this the following useful arguments and information may be gathered. It maintained that all the most important parts of the system in the North-West Provinces had been adopted in Bombay, and only those omitted which from local considerations had been found impracticable. The Court of Directors had raised the objection that too much was left to the discretion of individual officers in Bombay, and no fixed system had been laid down as to the mode of settlement. However much this might have been the case at first, that state of things no longer existed, as definite rules and precise methods of procedure had been laid down. As there was seldom any necessity for boundary surveys, as in the North-West Provinces, the scientific survey of boundaries and areas of every village, which only served topographical and geographical purposes, had been dispensed with. It was not required for revenue purposes, and it would add enormously to the expense to make it in addition to the field measurements, none of the cost of which it would save. The objection of the Government of India to the same

officers supervising measurement and classification of soils as well as assessment, on the ground of their supposed tendency to fix the revenue demands too much on uncertain and speculative data, and consequently to over-assess, had been disproved in practice, as the Revenue Officers objected to the assessments being, if anything, too low.

It was indispensable that the mechanical portion of the survey operations should be under the general control of the settling officer; the result of the contrary system had been shown in the uselessness for revenue purposes of what had been intended for a revenue survey in Guzerát about 1820. In the North-West Provinces the actual measurements on which the settlement depended were made subsidiarily by establishments under the revenue officers themselves. The objections were really applicable to Sir T. Munro's Madras system, and not to that of the Deccan. At the point where the duties of a settlement officer in the North-West commenced, a mass of information had already been collected by the Bombay survey officers in much greater detail than the former got together for their settlements; these details were, however, not so minute as to lead Government to doubt the accuracy of the work, as had been the case in Mr. Pringle's survey. They were only carried out with regard to measurement and classification of soils, where they were absolutely necessary as a check on subordinates. The assessment was not based on speculative or uncertain data, but on the same documents as in the North-West, such as accounts of past realizations of revenue, &c. All reports on such matters were forwarded to Government through the collectors and Revenue Commissioner, who had thus the opportunity of testing their accuracy by means of their own local knowledge and experience. One principal test was the contentment of the ryots, which was amply proved by their struggling for land that they could not even cultivate for several seasons, merely to secure the right of occupancy for themselves, thus proving that land had acquired a value it had not possessed before the settlement.

No estates were in any way created or disturbed in Bombay. Villages with known boundaries were taken as they stood. An accurate record was made of the extent, position, and capability of each field or number, and although there was no scientific definition of boundaries of villages, the maps showed the relative positions of fields, roads, rivers, village sites, &c., sufficiently for all practical purposes. These maps were much superior to the Khusreh maps of the North-West. No portion of different estates being included in the same field (survey number), any appointment of the rent or land tax was unnecessary, and the system admitted of the freest transfer of property either by judicial process or private agreement. Any extension of cultivation in Madras without a corresponding increase of payment was interdicted, as in Bombay, but so far from this acting as a check on cultivation in the latter, the fear was always lest cultivation should be extended too rapidly and beyond the means of the people to keep up.

The Bombay chain and cross-staff measurements of fields were checked by measurements with the theodolite by Europeans, and the average amount of error discovered in the former was under 2 per cent., whereas in Madras the survey, unchecked by any scientific operations, was left to the honesty of the measurers. In describing Sir T. Munro's system of classification of soils and assessment the Board of Revenue remarked that if made with tolerable accuracy it would suffice for the purposes of assessment where the property in the soil was vested in the State and not in individuals, but would be insufficient where proprietary rights were acknowledged and a title to charge rents was never claimed by Government. The Board had arrived at a mistaken conclusion on this important point. The proprietary right in land could only be destroyed by the imposition of an assessment so heavy as to absorb the whole of the rent. As long as the assessment fell short of the rent, a value was given to land equal to the difference between the two, which enabled the holder to sell the land.

It was immaterial to inquire whether Sir T. Munro disregarded the rights of actual occupiers, but in Bombay, at all events, all existing rights were clearly recorded, so that the proprietor could do as he liked with his land. The Board stated that Sir T. Munro's classification had been vitiated by fraud, and was so minute that even honest men could not carry it out successfully. This was avoided in Bombay by the land being divided from the commencement into certain classes according to its estimated value. The ryots had a practical knowledge of the relative values of land, and such knowledge was easily acquired by native agency, whose operations were superintended by European officers. Each field was dug into in several places to ascertain the different qualities of it, the quantities of the varieties being then estimated so as to arrive at an average valuation. This was constantly tested by European officers in order to secure uniformity of classification. Such accuracy had been attained to in estimating the quantity under each description of soil that the error discovered seldom came to more than the difference between the values of two contiguous classes, a difference which was inconsiderable. The great test of accuracy in this respect was that of land being taken up after the settlement, and this had been found to be universally the case. The Bombay method of assessment was essentially the same as in the North-West Provinces. According to the Board's orders the condition of the agricultural classes, the state of particular villages, the amount of revenue realized, the prices of produce, and similar considerations as compared with the circumstances of previous years, should afford the chief grounds for determining whether the rental should be increased or lowered. This was precisely the Bombay system. In the North-West Provinces further modifications were permitted in the assessment of particular estates in order to accommodate present and previous settlements, and appeared to have been considered necessary in consequence of marked differences in the industry and agricul-

tural skill of the various proprietors and communities. The Board regretted the necessity for such modifications, and had endeavoured to equalize the Government demands as far as possible. In Bombay there were no such marked differences, and such modifications were happily unnecessary. It may be remarked here, *en passant*, that nothing was known of the Province of Guzerát to the writers of this report, in some parts of which modifications of this description were considered necessary by some revenue authorities, and have been adopted. No theoretical proportion of the true rent of different lands to be taken by Government had been assumed in Bombay, as it was found impossible to fix what the rent was. The abstract justice, however, of limiting the State demand to from 60 to 80 per cent. of the true rent, as laid down by the Board, was admitted. The grant of leases (*kaut*) was unnecessary to bring waste lands into cultivation under the Bombay settlements, as cultivation was already extending without any adventitious encouragement; the cause of its not extending in Madras was that the waste land was over-assessed. The Madras annual settlements were essentially the same as in Bombay, the complexity and detail observable in the former being due to over-assessment and the want of any uniform and simple system of accounts. The tours of Mamlutdars to take engagements from ryots for the cultivation of the season were unnecessary and prejudicial. It was sufficient for Government to know what lands were in cultivation, and this could be ascertained by an annual inspection by the village officers, as in the Deccan, where only six or seven cases of concealed cultivation had been discovered. The survey maps would in future prevent one piece of land being wrongly recorded as held in place of another, and the accounts of individual ryots combined for the whole of a subdivision would give sufficient data for the annual settlement.

Six causes for the variation in the annual amounts of revenue in Madras were given by the Board. Of these

only two were to be found in Bombay, viz., increase or decrease of cultivation, and remissions on account of failure of crops or poverty of cultivators. The former was unavoidable, as the ryots were at liberty to expand or contract their holdings, and the latter, though inseparable from all systems, was at a minimum in that of Bombay. Balances outstanding under this were inconsiderable, and land had acquired a saleable value. The use of informers, as in Madras, was unadvisable, as it tended to demoralize the people. Fluctuating demands also gave opportunities for speculation, which did not occur in Bombay, where the fixed field assessments rendered each ryot independent and secure from over-taxation. The safeguards in the North-West Provinces were not so great, owing to the larger areas on which assessment was imposed. The variety and complexity of interests among proprietors and sub-proprietors also were so great as to give opportunities for the richer to oppress the poorer holders, and this appeared to be proved by the vast number of cases brought before the courts for adjudication. Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor in the North-West, had acknowledged that when a pushing man once got a footing in a village he would soon bring the interests of all other proprietors to sale and buy them up himself. The system of joint responsibility, moreover, was unfavourable to individual industry and improvement. The existence of proprietary rights in the soil in Madras had been denied, and it would probably have asserted itself if it had existed. Joint proprietorships could only be brought into existence from the force of peculiar local circumstances, as there was always a natural tendency to separation of interests and independence. Agreements to pay revenue jointly were not improbable, but joint proprietorship in land was unnatural. It had never existed in the Deccan, where each field in a *thal* or *thika* (separate, well-known shares) had its own name and distinct owner. With regard to the remarks of the Revenue Board on the evils of the ryotwari system, those evils were not due to

the system, but to over-assessment, and the superiority of that of the North-West Provinces was owing to the moderation of the assessment. In Coimbatore (Madras) the average annual assessment was about one-third below the maximum demand, and in Kanara in the Fusli year, 1243, out of 51,989 Vargs (holdings) only 31,825 paid the maximum assessment, and in 20,164 temporary or permanent reductions were allowed. It was vain to hope under such a system that the ryots would attain to the standard assessment and thus reach the limit of the demands of Government. In Madras long years of previous misrule had impoverished the country before the ryotwari settlement was introduced, and the rates under this were unfortunately so heavy as to lead to the necessity for annual remissions with all their attendant evils. The Revenue Board in the North-West drew a pleasing picture of the anticipated results of the village system, where families would be reunited by the closest bonds of concord and sympathy, where the poor would be supported by the rich, and widows and orphans encouraged to look for protection to their natural supporters. No such results were looked for in Bombay, but it was hoped that the settlements would confer real and lasting benefits on the people, and at the same time augment the resources of the State.

The North-West Provinces village system was quite unsuited to the Deccan, and there were no proprietors to deal with. Whether the maps of the Khusreh survey in use there were accurate was not known, but ascertaining the whole area by a scientific survey, with village boundaries laid down for geographical purposes, provided no check against wrong measurements of fields. Such a survey in Bombay would, if considered necessary, have to be made by a separate agency. The classification of soils in use in the North-West Provinces was much too general and cursory to be applicable to a field assessment. According to it only three classes of soil were to be distinguished, and great importance was attached to the circumstance of

the land being irrigable or not, as well as to the description of crop grown in it. Evidence of wrong entries through bribery of Amins was given in the correspondence quoted by the Board itself, and it was acknowledged in Mr. Muir's report that the classification of soils had little to do with the grounds of assessment, which was based on a general classification of villages. The system of settling by villages led to collusion between proprietors and the Amins to conceal the area of cultivation, and to wrong entries of the quality of land, such as dry-crop for garden. The Khusreh survey was declared by some to be most valuable, and by others to be perfectly useless. As to the Record of Rights (a document in which the ownership of land, the peculiarities of tenure, rent payable, &c., were entered in great detail), however accurate it might be at the time of its compilation, what provision was made for the thousands of changes that must constantly take place? The apportionment of payments being left to the ryots, the boundaries of the survey would be disregarded, and this would probably lead in the end to a more minute interference with individual rights through the agency of the civil courts. The assumption by Mr. Colvin, of the North-West Provinces, that the Bombay assessment was based on estimates of produce was entirely unwarranted. Each measurer had a field-book, with every page in it numbered and signed, in which no erasures were permitted, but merely lines drawn through any mistaken entry that might be made, so as to show the original and the correction together. Each day the names of village officers and others present were entered in this, with a view to fix the responsibility for all entries made. The measurer began his first number near the village entrance. The number of the field in the village accounts, with every particular as to occupancy, tenure, &c., was recorded, and a rough sketch of the field drawn. He then chained round the boundary and measured the number with a chain and cross-staff by dividing it into triangles. This done, he passed on to the next number,

and the one beyond, and so on till the whole village was complete. Each number was then accurately plotted at home from the measurements taken, and transferred by tracing-paper to the general village map. Assisted by the positions of the village site and roads being fixed by theodolite or compass, to make the fields close in in the map, a sufficient degree of accuracy was attained for all practical purposes. Both measurement and classification of soils were thoroughly tested by European officers as they proceeded.

Such is a brief *résumé* of the arguments in favour of the ryotwari system, carried out on the principles of the Bombay Revenue Survey, as compared with that in Madras, and with the village settlement system in the North-West Provinces. This report was written in the early days of the Bombay system, which has been greatly improved upon subsequently in the matter of scientific accuracy with regard to which fault was found with it as compared with the technical superiority of the professional boundary survey of the North-West Provinces. With a view to the village maps not being dependent for accuracy entirely on the fitting-in of one field upon another until the whole village space was filled in, one or two straight lines are now measured across the lands of each village from boundary to boundary, as nearly mathematically accurate as possible, as a guide by which measurers may fit in their fields, so that, with the assistance of points fixed by the Trigonometrical Survey of India, the maps, in addition to being all that can be required for revenue purposes (the boundary marks even being laid down in each field on them), they are quite sufficiently accurate for topographical purposes. The method of classification of soils has already been described, and that of assessment will be readily understood from the detailed notices of the manner in which it has been carried out in different subdivisions described in these pages. The success of the system has been proved by the eagerness with which people have taken up lands under it, and the

consequent immediate increase of the land revenue. So great was the eagerness to secure the occupancy right of land that orders had to be issued to restrict the making of advances from the treasury where they were required merely for extension of cultivation, and not for permanent improvements or other agricultural purposes. Another method adopted to check undue extension of cultivation beyond the means of the ryots was to refuse remissions in case of failure of crops; with a view to weed out people who from want of agricultural stock and capital should be labourers and not attempt independent farming.

In 1843, the new settlement was introduced into the Supa portion of the Purandhar subdivision. It applied to 39½ villages, of which 25 were remeasured, 12 tested, and the remainder, which had lately lapsed to Government, surveyed for the first time. They lay to the west of Indápur and south of Bhimthadi. The northern and some of the western and central villages were hilly, and the rainfall was somewhat uncertain, as in Indápur. They did not benefit much by the Poona market, but had those of Sásvad (Sassoor) and Bhor. Mr. Pringle's settlement had been unsuccessful, the collections having fallen from Rs. 47,547 on its introduction, to Rs. 20,163 in 1835-36, when an imperfect revision was carried out by Capt. Shortrede. The average from 1835 to 1842 had been Rs. 28,269. During the last two years the remissions found necessary had exceeded the collections. The rates proposed by the survey officers were 15 per cent. above those of Indápur, and 5 per cent. above those of Kurkumb. Government, however, sanctioned the adoption of the Kurkumb rates, which were only 10 per cent. above those of Indápur. The total assessment, according to these, was about Rs. 60,000, as against Rs. 88,894 under Capt. Shortrede's settlement, and a previous rental of Rs. 1,22,713. These were in Ankosi rupees, which were of rather less value than Company's rupees. A deficient rainfall in 1843 and 1844 proved that the rapid increase of cultivation in both Indápur

and Bhimthadi had been carried beyond the means of the people, and large remissions and a contraction of the cultivated area by about 15,000 acres were the consequence. In the latter year the failure of crops was so complete that many people were only saved from starvation by being employed in making a road from Pátas to Indápur. The next season was more favourable, and the settlement in Supá had been so successful that the increase of revenue had more than repaid the cost of settlement. In the three years succeeding the settlement the revenue had increased on an average by 24 per cent. In 1848 the cultivated area in the entire collectorate rose from 1,148,755 acres to 1,228,304.

In 1847 the remainder of Purandhar, comprising the Sásvad Mamlutdar's charge, was revised. It contained thirty-six Government villages. Its chief local market was at the town of Sásvad, the Bápdeo Ghát between it and Poona being so steep that produce was generally taken to the latter on pack-bullocks, although there was a metalled road. There were only a few patches of rice in the whole tract of country. The thirty-six villages were arranged for maximum rates of dry-crop assessment into four classes as follows, it is uncertain on what principles: ten had a maximum of Rs. 1 2as., fifteen one of 15as. 8ps., and nine one of 14as. 3ps., the remaining two being assessed at the Supá rates. The rice rates proposed, viz.: Rs. 3, Rs. 2½, and Rs. 1½, were considered by Capt. Wingate to be too high, and Government authorized their reduction at the settlement if it was then considered advisable, as well as the continuation of the existing method of assessing hill lands, which were of trifling extent. The general result of the revision was the reduction of the dry-crop assessment from Rs. 49,060 in 1846-47, to Rs. 33,900 in 1847-48, or 44·7 per cent.

Bori, one of the petty divisions of Sivner or Junnar, was revised in 1848-49. It contained thirty villages, and adjoined Pábal, to the climate of which its climate was

similar, on the north. The rainfall in the east was much more uncertain than in the west. A majority of the holders of land were "*mīrāsī*," or hereditary occupants. Under Mr. Pringle's settlement the average acre rate had been 15as. 8ps., and on the cultivated area Rs. 10as. 4ps. Between 1829 and 1846 the latter had risen from 46,420 to 50,052 acres, but remissions in the first sixteen years had averaged Rs. 10,350, and in the last five Rs. 7,410. It was proposed to divide it into three groups, with maximum rates of Rs. 18as., 14as., and 10as. 4ps. Under wells and small water-channels there was a total area of 4,100 acres irrigated. Some of the latter could only be made use of when the rainfall was unusually heavy, and it was proposed to levy a water rate on them only when they were so used. A small portion of this area had been assessed formerly at Rs. 3 an acre. Under the new settlement a rate of Rs. 2, as in Pābal and elsewhere, was proposed. The total assessment according to this came to Rs. 4,719, or a little over a rupee an acre. The general result of the settlement was as follows:

OLD SYSTEM.	NEW SYSTEM.			
	Occupied.		Total.	Waste.
	Dry Crop.	Garden.		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
54,542	40,319	4,719	45,038	10,480

This showed a decrease of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the past net realizable revenue, after deducting remissions.

In 1847-48, twenty villages in the Bāramati group in Indāpur, which had lapsed in 1844-45, were revised, with the result of an increase of 37·3 per cent. over the assessment on the area under cultivation for the five years ending with 1846-47. The maximum dry-crop rate was 13as. 2ps. In 1849-50, a settlement was introduced into twenty-six villages of Brahmanvādī petty division of Sivner (Junnar),

in the extreme north of the collectorate, bordering on Ahmadnagar. It comprised also nine dāng, or hill, villages, containing chiefly occasional hill-crop and rice lands, which were left unsettled pending a survey of such descriptions of land. The tract was badly off for communications, the ascent of the Brahmanvādi Pass, over which from 10,000 to 15,000 pack-bullocks annually crossed with grain for Junnar and Poona, returning laden with salt. The old assessment had been so uneven that the revised assessment would make very little difference in some cases and a great deal in others. There was a great difference in the prices of produce in Kotal, which was above the Brahmanvādi Pass, and Utur and Udāpur, which were below it, thus showing the badness of the road. A considerably larger area was shown in the recent than in Mr. Pringle's measurement, the former being 51,938 and the latter 70,756 acres: in the former, land on the edges of fields had not been assessed, because it had been thought too poor for tillage; but as it had been cultivated the new survey included it all in the assessable area. The average collections for ten years had been Rs. 33,364, and the assessment on cultivation, according to the proposed new rates, would be Rs. 28,557, a decrease of 16·8 per cent., and give an average of 8as. 10ps. per acre. The average according to the old recorded area was 14as. 11ps., but allowing for the increase in the area by measurement, this was reduced to 10as. 11ps. The highest rate proposed, which applied to the single village of Utur, was 150 per cent. beyond that of Indāpur, and gave an average of R.1 6as. 2ps. per acre. It was a market town itself, and was only six miles distant from Junnar, which was another. The village of Udāpur, which adjoined, had had an average of R.1 7as., and was reduced to R.1 0as. 7ps., on a maximum 100 per cent. higher than that of Indāpur. In two other groups of thirteen and eleven villages it was respectively 60 and 30 per cent. higher. Capt. Wingate considered the maximum for Utur too high, and proposed its reduction from R.1 14as. to R.1 10as.

The proposals were sanctioned by Government with this modification.

In 1850-51 the assessment of the remainder of the Junnar subdivision, containing 109 villages, to the east of Bori and south of Brahmanvādi, was undertaken. The country was very rugged in the west, so that only "dali," or hand tillage with the bill-hook, was practicable in it. A group of villages called the Haveli, lying between Junnar on the west and Bori on the east, were the finest in the whole Deccan on account of the genial and certain rainfall. The chief market town was Junnar, but there were markets also at Utur and Narāyengaon. Under Mr. Pringle's settlement the collections varied greatly, from Rs. 35,000 to Rs. 65,000, and in the ten years ending with 1849-50, averaged Rs. 58,350, or at the rate of Rs. 10 as. 7 ps. per acre. The people were reported to be badly off as a rule, to be deeply in debt, and to be almost literally living from hand to mouth, so that a reduction in the Government demand seemed to be urgently demanded. The villages were arranged for maximum dry-crop rates of assessment into five groups. The first, with a rate of R. 1 12 as. included twenty-two villages in the east of the Haveli group, mentioned above, and in the valley of the Kukdi river, extending to the town of Junnar. The second group, to the west of the first, consisted of twenty-four villages, with a heavier rainfall but a much poorer soil: the maximum rate proposed here was Rs. 1½. The third group, of nineteen villages, had a maximum of Rs. 1¼. Between this and the next group, of thirty-four villages, the kind of agricultural produce changed from wheat and bājri to hill grains: in the latter group the rate was R. 1. In the fifth group, of ten villages on the tops and slopes of the Sahyādri hills, the rate was ¾ of a rupee. For rice lands, two rates of Rs. 3 and Rs. 2½, were proposed, according to the position of the villages within or on the skirts of the belt of heavy rainfall. These rates were approved, but the proposals with regard to garden lands were not sanctioned, nor a

suggestion that for the existing uniform rate of 12 annas on the bill-hook (*koitā*) in the tracts where "dali" cultivation was in use three rates, varying from 10 annas to a rupee, should be adopted. The total survey rental, according to the superintendent's rates, amounted to Rs. 55,360, which, compared with the average collections of twenty-one years, Rs. 56,670, showed a reduction of Rs. 1,310, or 2·36 per cent.

In 1851-52 the Ambegaon petty division of the subdivision of Khed, embracing the northern portion of the latter, was settled. It contained 58 villages. The two towns of Ambegaon and Ghode were the chief markets, the former for rice and the latter for other grains. Potatoes were largely grown in it, as well as in the neighbouring parts of Pábal, and were bought up on the spot by dealers for the Bombay and Poona markets. Since Mr. Pringle's settlement in 1829-30 the collections of revenue had varied, but on the whole were from Rs. 14,500 in that year to Rs. 17,000 in 1850-51. The remissions had not been heavy, and the Survey Officer, Lieut. Francis, was of opinion that a reduction to the amount of such remissions would be sufficient, as the bulk of the landholders were in fair circumstances. Four groups of villages were proposed, with maximum rates of Rs. 1½, Rs. 1 6as., Rs. 1¼, and R. 1. These were similar to the rates in Pábal introduced nine years previously, which had succeeded. The general results in the several classes were as follows :

CLASSES.	OLD SYSTEM.		NEW SYSTEM.			
	1829-31	1850-51	Dry crop and garden.	Rice.	Dali and grazing.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	8,208	10,154	8,200	100	525	8,825
2	4,736	5,125	4,784	213	622	5,619
3	2,651	2,461	2,662	588	242	3,492
4	2,308	1,859	3,163	450	465	4,078
Total.	17,903	19,899	18,809	1,351	1,854	22,014

The total increase was thus 12·3 per cent., but excluding "dali" and grazing, which were not altered under the new system, there was a decrease of 21·7 per cent.

Some modifications were made in this year in the revised assessment in Purandhar, and the rice rates, which were considered by Capt. Wingate to be too high, were reduced.

In 1852 the Khed subdivision had revised assessments introduced into it. Exclusive of Ambegaon, settled in the previous year, it contained 192 villages. They lay between Ambegaon on the north, Pábal on the east, Haveli and Mával on the south, and the Sahyádris on the west. Kuda, under a Mahálkari, was to the west near the hills, and had a large area of rice land, while the more open country under the Mamlutdar of Khed was well suited for dry crop cultivation. The climate was better than that of Pábal, and equal to that of Haveli near Poona, but not quite so good as that of Junnar. Its market facilities were almost as great as those of Haveli, and the people were fairly well off. Mr. Pringle's assessment in the west of the tract had been more liberal than in the east, and during the period of his settlement the area under cultivation, with various fluctuations, increased by 12,000 acres, or 15 per cent. Remissions had also varied greatly, from Rs. 3,000 in 1831-32 to Rs. 72,000 in 1851-52, out of a total of Rs. 87,159. The villages were arranged for maximum dry-crop rates in five groups, with rates from R.1 10as. to R.1. The first contained nine villages along the high road from Poona to Junnar, which gave them facility for carriage to market. Their climate was also favourable for dry-crop cultivation. The lower rates were for groups lying to the east of the first, where the rainfall became less certain, and to the west towards the Sahyádris, where the climate became too moist for dry crops. The rice rates were arranged in the reverse way, being highest, with a maximum of Rs. 4, towards the hills, with one of Rs. 3 farther eastward. For garden lands, the area of which was small, the highest rate, for those

which were watered from channels, was Rs. 3, and the lowest, for land under wells, Rs. 2. No change was made in the "koita," or bill-hook, system of assessment in hill-lands inaccessible to the plough. The general result was as follows :

CLASS AND NUMBER OF VILLAGES.	OLD SYSTEM.		NEW SYSTEM.			
	Average from 1829 to 1852.	1851-52.	Dry crop and garden.	Rice.	Dali and grazing.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1-9	22,212	25,290	20,355	1	1,095	21,451
2-31	27,430	33,602	27,105	199	1,244	28,548
3-18	9,788	11,850	11,592	893	609	13,094
4-49	12,912	13,867	16,186	4,283	1,496	21,965
5-22	2,791	2,550	2,206	1,822	635	4,663
Total	75,133	87,159	77,444	7,198	5,079	89,721

Exclusive of "dali" and grazing receipts, the increase over the old average for twenty-three years was thus 12·6 per cent.

In 1853 the last subdivision of the Collectorate, Mával (often called the Mávals), came under revision. It occupied the south-west corner of the district, and contained a main group of 102 villages called Mával, and another of 78 called Mulsi to the south of these. Lying near the western range, the Sahyádrí hills, it differed from the rest of the Collectorate in having an abundant and certain rainfall, and, being essentially a rice country, bájri and jowári were hardly grown in it. Most of the rice went to Poona, a little went down the Gháts, and some was kept for local sale on the high road between Bombay and Poona at Varangaon, Khandálá, and other halting places. The chief manure used was burnt wood and grass, with which the rice beds were covered. Mr. Pringle's settlement had been a success as far as increased tillage and revenue were concerned, the former having advanced, mostly in dry-crop lands, from 36,000 acres in 1830-31 to 45,200 in 1852-53, and the

revenue from Rs. 47,500 to Rs. 58,300. But the light assessment had brought Marwari money-lenders in its train, and the people were more deeply in their books than in any other part of the district. Naturally, the grouping of villages for maximum dry-crop rates was from east to west, the rates for the four groups falling from Rs. 1½ to Rs. 1; Khandálá and a few villages near the road being raised a class on account of the ready sale of their grass. It was found that the best rice was grown, not where the rain was heaviest, but in the centre of the rainy tract of country. The system of rice classification adopted was one used in the hilly tracts of Násik by Mr. Fraser-Tytler, according to the kind of rice grown and the character of the embankments. The rates were in four classes of Rs. 4½, 4, 3½, and 3. The general result of the revision was as follows: The survey rental of the cultivated area gave an increase from Rs. 48,320 to Rs. 52,890, or 9·4 per cent. over the average of the twenty-three years ending with 1852-53, of under 2 per cent. over the average of ten years previous to the settlement, and a decrease of 9·1 per cent. on the assessment of the cultivated area of 1852-53. There was a margin of Rs. 17,670 left on the assessed waste land from which the temporary loss of revenue could be made up.

	Classes and number of villages.	Dry crops.	Rice.	Dalf and grain.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Chit division	1-9	4,658	2,176	325	7,159
	2-51	14,999	9,232	1,312	25,543
	3-24	3,757	5,342	720	9,819
	4-16	1,220	2,912	766	4,898
Mulsi ...	1-4	1,848	2,130	268	4,246
	2-13	1,735	4,687	335	6,757
	3-29	1,187	8,804	667	10,658
	4-32	1,927	3,950	899	6,776
Total	178	31,331	39,233	5,292	75,856

A general review of the result of the survey settlements may now be given. The eighteen years ending in 1854 in

the Collectorate as a whole showed no very marked improvement, in consequence of bad seasons and the fluctuations of prices. The area of tillage rose from 8,95,438 acres (in 882 villages) in 1839-40 to 1,368,430 (941 villages) in 1853-54, and the collections from Rs. 6,36,120 in 1837-38 to Rs. 7,24,760 in 1853-54. From about 1852, however, a change set in, partly in consequence of the high prices of the time of the American war, when they began to rise. During the twelve years ending in 1866 the cultivated area rose from 1,368,430 acres, in 941 villages, to 1,743,179 in 988 villages in 1865-66, and the collections from Rs. 724,760 to Rs. 10,55,210. Indápur, which had been in the worst condition before 1846, showed a rise in collections from Rs. 65,220 between 1836 and 1846 to Rs. 83,050 between 1856 and 1866, or 27 per cent., whilst remissions diminished from Rs. 12,220 to Rs. 6. In the latter ten years there was hardly any waste land left. This may, of course, be attributed partly to the rise in prices and the increase of population, but, taken in connection with other circumstances, to be explained hereafter when the revised survey settlements carried out on the expiration of the thirty years for which they were at first guaranteed are described, there can be no doubt that it is mostly due to the benefits of the low and equitable survey assessments.

At different times before the expiration of the guaranteed settlement, rates based on those already in force were introduced into villages that from various causes lapsed to Government, but as these settlements involved no new principles, there appears no necessity for entering into their details. In 1867 the revision of the first survey settlements was commenced in the subdivision of Indápur, the first originally settled.

Partly in consequence of inaccuracies discovered in the old measurements, the whole of Indápur was re-surveyed for revision. The lands were also reclassified in order to take advantage, with which many years' practice had furnished the survey department, of the greater skill with which the

operation could be performed. Although on the whole area the error shown by the remeasurement only came to 6½ per cent., the differences in individual numbers were found to be considerable. In a list of twenty Survey Fields reported they varied from 1 to 94 per cent. In the re-classification a much larger area of arable, and a much smaller area of unassessed, land was recorded. At the time of the original settlement, prices of agricultural produce were so low that much land of inferior quality was hardly worth cultivation. From the demand for land that had arisen in the course of the thirty years of the settlement, both from increase in prices and the pressure of population on the soil, a great deal of this land, much of which consisted of patches of waste in the midst of cultivation, thrown in to form Survey Fields, had been cultivated at no other expense than that of ordinary ploughing, thus proving that the old classification, which had recorded it as unarable, had been faulty. The increase under the revised settlement, arising from the assessment of such land, was often considerable, so much so as in some cases to enhance a ryot's payments notwithstanding a lowering of rate; and it became a matter of importance to decide whether the extra land should be assessed, or should be considered land which, according to the survey principle, the ryot was entitled to enjoy rent-free, as having been improved at his own cost. Opinions differed on this point, and it was even proposed that credit should be given in every holding for as much unarable, and therefore unassessed, land as there originally was in it. Now, apart from the improbability that holdings would in many cases have remained the same, and in the same hands, for thirty years, and the consequent difficulty of carrying such a theory into practice; it would have been contrary to reason that the State, *i.e.*, the community, should suffer a perpetual loss through the mistakes or frauds of classes in recording as unarable what simply required to be ploughed and sown to bear crops. The controversy ended by the Government of India refusing to sanction the proposal.

The circumstances of Indápur had greatly changed in the thirty years of the settlement. At the original survey there was not a mile of made road. In 1852 the road between Poona and Sholápur had been completed, and Indápur had become an important centre of trade. Later on, in 1863, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway had been constructed, and opened up, as it were, the markets of the world to it. Prices had risen from 53 seers (106 lbs.) per rupee of bájri in the five years before the original settlement, to 26½ seers in the ten years ending with 1865-66. Population had increased 31 per cent., farm bullocks 19 per cent., carts 300 per cent., and ploughs 25 per cent. In other cattle there had been a decrease of 9 per cent., owing, probably, to the contraction of the area in which they formerly grazed. Land had acquired a saleable value, having in forty-eight cases, quoted from the Registrar's books, fetched an average of seventeen years' assessment, and in six of over twenty years'. The area under tillage had increased from 238,135 to 270,070 acres, and the grazing and unassessed land diminished from 43,653 to 18,679. The climate and uncertain rainfall, however, remained the same, and required caution in dealing with the assessment. Taking all these points into consideration, an increase of from 50 to 60 per cent. in the assessment would, it was thought, be proper and reasonable. It was proposed to give Indápur itself a maximum rate of Rs. 1 2as., to sixty-two villages one of a rupee, and the remaining thirteen villages near Kalas, where the rainfall was very uncertain, one of 14as. A little alluvial land on the banks of the Bhima river was assessed at Rs. 1½. The average on the whole came to 7as. 6ps. the acre. The general increase came to 53 per cent., the assessment being Rs. 124,506 as against the old Rs. 81,184. It will be seen hereafter that this percentage was subsequently reduced to 38.

Bhimthadi was taken in hand in 1871-72. The number of villages was fifty-four, of which twenty-three had be-

longed to the Pimpalgaon group, and thirty-one to that of Kurkumb. These, with some villages from Purandhar and Baramati, formed the new subdivision of Bhimthadi. Six of them had lapsed in the course of the thirty years. The communications of Bhimthadi had also been improved by the construction of the railway, and the road from Poona to Sholapur, as well as other local roads. The three market towns of Pátas, Kurkumb, and Yevat were all on the Poona-Sholapur road. In the three decennial periods of the settlement, prices of jowari and bajri had been respectively $45\frac{1}{2}$ and $36\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee, $35\frac{1}{2}$ and $28\frac{1}{2}$, and $19\frac{1}{2}$ and 15, showing an increase of considerably over 100 per cent. The area and revenue collections in the three periods had been as shown below.

Years.	Land Revenue.		From other Sources.		Total.	Remissions.	Collections.
	Area.	Kental.	Gross.	Miscell.	Rs.	Rs.	
1840 to 1850	1,31,127	49,726	214	5,925	55,935	6,310	49,616
1850 to 1860	1,32,332	60,130	1,103	5,600	69,865	2,300	64,569
1860 to 1870	1,65,744	74,665	2,947	5,065	82,677	2,077	80,600

Population, in forty-eight villages, had increased $39\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., farm cattle 19 per cent., other cattle $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., carts 270 per cent., and ploughs $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Two hundred more wells were worked, of which 141 were new, and the rest old ones repaired; the total increase was nearly 38 per cent., from 527 to 727. Of the new wells only eight were made in the first ten years, forty-one in the second, and ninety-two in the third, so that the prosperity of the people seemed progressively on the increase. A record of sales of land showed prices varying from ten to fifty-two times the assessment. On all these considerations the Superintendent of Survey thought the assessment might be increased from 50 to 60 per cent., as proposed for Indapur. For this purpose a maximum rate of R.1 12as.

was proposed for seven villages in the Pimpalgaon group nearest to Poona and with the most certain rainfall; and one of Rs. 1½ for twenty-two others not quite so favourably placed in both these respects. Two other groups, containing sixteen and nine villages, with rates of R.1 4as. and R.1 2as. respectively, were proposed. The result in forty-eight villages—the remaining six affording no proper data for comparison, as they had lapsed within the period of the settlement—was to increase the assessment by 73 per cent., as shown by the following statement :

Survey.	Cultivation.		Waste.		Total.	
	Area.	Rs.	Area.	Rs.	Area.	Rs.
Old	1,64,618	74,223	1,883	644	1,66,502	74,866
New	1,86,776	1,28,971	2,019	871	1,88,795	1,29,842
Increase...	22,158	54,749	135	227	22,293	54,976

Of this increase 20 per cent. was on account of land found on remeasurement in excess of the recorded area. The increase varied greatly in different villages, being as high as 120 per cent. in one case, and as low as 16 in another. Both here and in Indapur no extra assessment was imposed on lands watered from wells. In "*pātasthal*," or channel-watered, lands, rates varying from one to six rupees per acre, in addition to the dry-crop rates, were given. In the six villages lately lapsed the increase came to 44 per cent. The total cultivated land in the fifty-four villages was found to be 22,293 acres, or 11 per cent. above the recorded area, and the assessment altogether was 69 per cent. in excess of that previously levied. The rates were sanctioned by Government for a second term of thirty years in January, 1872.

Between 1872 and 1874 the old settlement was revised in Pábal, the villages of which had in 1866 been distributed over Khed, Junnar, and Parnér. The settlement applied to fifty-six villages of old Pábal, and three

received from Holkar. In the thirty years of the old settlement, leaving out the five years of the American war, in which prices were abnormally high, the price of *bājri* had risen over 52 per cent. In the five years previous to the first settlement (1836-41) collections had averaged Rs. 66,310, and remissions Rs. 22,700. The waste land at that time was about one-third of the arable area. During the ten years ending in 1872 the collections were nearly steady, being, on an average, Rs. 92,300; the only remission during this period having been one of Rs. 40 in 1871-72. The waste land in this year was three-tenths of the whole area. Population had increased 11·27 per cent., bullocks 2·7 per cent., other cattle 7·5 per cent., carts 73 per cent., ploughs 12·4 per cent., and wells in working order had risen from 1,493 to 1,977, or 32·4 per cent. Land was more carefully cultivated than in the east of Poona, manure being used in dry-crop as well as garden lands. The selling-price of land was in some instances as high as 116 and 160 times the assessment. The villages had benefitted greatly by the construction of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, two stations of which afforded easy access to the Bombay market. A good many fair weather roads had been made; the Poona-Násik high road crossed it from South to North, and that from Poona to Ahmadnagar from West to East, so that with several fair local markets to resort to, such as Khed, Pábal, Talegaon, and Manchar, the people had no difficulty in disposing of their produce. Owing to improvident expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies, however, they were still dependent on money-lenders, although every circumstance was in favour of their increased prosperity. According to the criteria of more or less certain rainfall and distance from markets, the villages were classed for maximum rates of dry-crop assessment in six groups; the first consisting of only one village with a maximum of Rs. 3. The remaining five had rates falling from this by gradations of four annas, and contained respectively sixteen, thirteen, twelve, eight, and six villages.

One of the rivers crossing the tract, the Vel, could be used for irrigating by the construction of temporary dams, and channel-water rates were proposed, varying from one to six rupees, according to water supply.

The highest dry-crop rates only were imposed on lands watered from old wells without extra water assessment, with the intention of placing their owners on the same footing as the owners of those more recently constructed; this involved a loss of from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 of revenue. The ninety-two acres of rice land, which was of superior quality, had a maximum of Rs. 6 and an average rate of Rs. 3 1as. 7ps. In forwarding these proposals the Survey Commissioner, Colonel Francis, suggested that the rate of Rs. 3, which raised the average in the single village to which it applied by 70 per cent., should be done away with, and by certain modifications of grouping, and a reduction of four annas a class in the first four, and of two annas in the fifth group, reduced the general increase from 88 to 66 per cent. The grouping was again altered by Government, and the final arrangement was as follows :

				Rs. as.
1st group	...	9 villages at	2	8
2nd "	...	9 "	2	2
3rd "	...	24 "	3	0
4th "	...	17 "	1	10

Under these rates the general increase was 75 per cent. on the whole fifty-nine villages, and the average dry-crop rate 12as. 3ps. The total assessment came to Rs. 1,51,510, or Rs. 38,910 below that proposed by the Superintendent of Survey, and Rs. 49,280, or 48 per cent. more than the previous assessment on occupied land.

In 1871-73 the Haveli subdivision, immediately surrounding Poona, from which none of the villages were more than eighteen miles distant, was brought under revision. Poona contained over 90,000 inhabitants, and, in addition to being an excellent market for all kinds of produce, afforded access by its railway station to Bombay

and other important trade centres far and near. Eighty-four villages were to be revised, of which twenty-seven had come from Bhimthadi, and seven had been transferred to Mával; three had been settled within fifteen years and were omitted. The rainfall was plentiful and certain in the west towards the Sahyádris, and uncertain in proceeding eastwards, the climate of Poona itself being more like that of Europe than of the tropics during the monsoon. In the period of the thirty years' settlement prices of agricultural produce in Poona had doubled. From 109,000 acres in 1841-42 the area of tillage had increased to 1,21,000 in 1871-72; it had fallen off by about 4,000 acres since 1866. Collections had fallen in the same time by about 3,000, but were still 76,000 in the last year as compared with Rs. 65,000 in 1841-42. In the third decennial period of the settlement they were 2·5 per cent. above those of the second, and 21·3 per cent. more than in the five years preceding the first, settlement. Since 1856 remissions had been nominal, and in 1871-72 only 634 acres of the worst arable land remained unoccupied. Receipts had been a good deal diminished by a large area having been taken up for forest purposes and for the construction of a large irrigation reservoir at Khadakrásla. During the survey lease the population of the 81 villages had increased by 42·8 per cent., but houses only 7·3 per cent., which was not at all in due proportion. Plough and draught cattle were more by 12 per cent., carts by 131 per cent., ploughs by nearly 20 per cent., sheep, horses, and other cattle by 29·6 per cent., and working wells by 36·5 per cent.; 418 of the wells were new, and of these 276 had been sunk in the last ten years. More energy than in other parts was shown in agricultural operations, and the prejudice of the people against the use of the night-soil of Poona for manure had even been overcome. Fruit and betel nut were especially cultivated near the town. The value of land had so much increased, that it sometimes fetched as much as a hundred times the assessment. On the whole, the people were better off than those of

any other part of the Collectorate. The area of the 81 villages was found to be 28,031 acres more than that recorded in the revenue books; this arose from grazing lands not having been measured at the first survey. For dry-crop assessment Vánorí (*Wanowree*), Ghorpuri, and Kirkee were placed in a first class with a maximum of Rs. 4; all three were close to the town and the two cantonments. Six villages, also near, formed a second group, with a maximum of Rs. 3½; and 26 villages adjoining these, with a maximum of Rs. 3, formed a third. There were five others, of 13, 9, 5, 9, and 3 villages respectively, grouped according to rainfall and distance from market, with rates falling at the rate of four annas for each group. Of the remaining ten villages, the seven transferred to Mával were placed in the fifth group at a maximum of Rs. 2½, and the three lately lapsed villages were assigned to the third, fourth, and fifth classes. A large tank had lately been constructed at Páshán, and in consequence of the excellent supply of water from it the channel-watered lands under it had a maximum rate of Rs. 8 in addition to the dry-crop rate; the supply in other villages was not very good, and was rated at from a rupee to Rs. 5½. For rice, grown to the extent of 1,095 acres in the western villages, the maximum proposed was Rs. 12, which gave an average of Rs. 3 10as. 4ps. These rates would have raised the rental by 96 per cent. above the average of the last ten years. In one village the increase would have been 228 per cent., of which 90 per cent. was due to arable land which had not yet been shown in the accounts or assessed. An alternative set of rates was proposed, by which the maximum in each of the first two classes was lowered half a rupee, and in the rest four annas. These reduced the increase to 79 per cent. on the previous years' collections, of which 16 per cent. was due to the hitherto unassessed area in occupied land. The Survey Commissioner proposed a lowering of the rice maximum from Rs. 6 to Rs. 5, and by some modifications in the grouping reduced the total percentage till it came down to

75 per cent. His proposals were sanctioned by Government, but in consequence of the Government of India expressing their readiness to make further reductions, still greater changes were made, and the total increase remained at 67 per cent. above current collections. The average dry-crop rate was 14as. 2ps., the channel-water rate Rs. 2 3as. 5ps., and the rice rate Rs. 2 15as. 9ps. The following statement shows clearly the successive changes made :

1871-72.		1872-73.	
Rs.	Ss.	Rs.	Ss.
80,965	1,58,836	1,43,544	1,34,150

In 1873-74 39 villages formerly belonging to Supa, of which thirty had been transferred to Bhimthadi and nine to Purandhar, were revised. The climate in these varied but little, but those on the Nira river had a larger proportion of deep, black soil. Cultivation was inferior, and no manure was used in the dry-crop lands except the droppings of sheep occasionally penned upon them. The garden land, which was all under wells, was not of a superior kind. In the course of the survey lease the relative importance of markets had changed considerably in consequence of the construction of the railway and local roads. The price of jowari had risen in the last ten years of the lease by about 135 per cent., and that of bajri 143 per cent. At the time of the first settlement this tract had begun to benefit by the revision of assessment that had been carried out by Capt. Shortrede. Notwithstanding this, only 40 per cent. of the revenue was collected from 1836 to 1842, and up to the time of the first Survey settlement large remissions had to be given. The rates under this, introduced in 1843, were the same as those of Kurkumb, or 10 per cent. higher than in Indapur. At the time of the first settlement 26,302 acres out of 1,41,310 were waste, and from its commencement an increase in tillage took place, the average waste remaining from 1864 to 1873 being only 1,843 acres. The

state of matters in the three decennial periods of the lease is shown below.

Years	Occupied.		Waste.		Total.		Re- missions.	Collec- tions.
	Area.	Rs.	Area.	Rs.	Area.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1843 to 1853	1,26,604	50,564	15,190	6,182	1,41,794	56,726	1,707	48,856
1853 to 1863	1,39,966	56,498	2,525	1,212	1,42,491	57,710	416	56,082
1863 to 1873	1,42,225	57,390	1,843	612	1,44,068	58,002	1,889	55,500

During the Survey lease population had increased by 43·5 per cent., houses by 13 per cent., wells by 71 per cent., carts by 202 per cent., ploughs by 31·2 per cent., and draught and plough cattle by 10·4 per cent., but houses had diminished by 26·6 per cent. Other kinds of cattle had also increased a good deal, which was not the case in the neighbouring districts. Of the new wells 44 were made in the first decade, 148 in the second, and 225 in the third of the survey lease. All this proved conclusively that the condition of the people was good; few families were hopelessly in debt, and every village held some who were quite free. The 39 villages were arranged for maximum dry-crop rates in four groups, with rates varying from R.1 to R.1 6as. In the first there were only two, which were close to the Nira bridge on the Poona and Satará road. Twelve on the western boundary, and on the road to the Kedgaon railway station were in the second, at a maximum of R.1 4as.; twelve more to the south and east of these were placed in a third, at R.1 2as., and thirteen in the south-east, with the most uncertain rainfall, had the one-rupee maximum. There was no rice, and the channel-watered land was poor; the highest rate fixed for the latter was Rs. 2. Compared with the previous years' collections, the new settlement showed a rise from Rs. 57,461 to Rs. 81,713, or 42 per cent., as shown below:

	Occupied.		Waste.		Total.	
	Area.	Rs.	Area.	Rs.	Area.	Rs.
Old Settlement ...	1,42,225	57,461	1,830	443	1,44,065	57,904
New Settlement...	1,56,828	81,713	1,558	230	1,58,386	81,943
Increase	14,593	24,252			14,321	24,039
Decrease			272	213		

The Survey Commissioner proposed a few modifications by doing away with the first group, and lowering some of the other villages a class. These proposals were sanctioned by Government.

Grain subsequently fell, and it did not seem probable that the high prices of 1872 would be maintained. It was therefore deemed advisable in 1874 to fix a limit beyond which increases at revision settlements should not be allowed to go; this was fixed at 33 per cent. on any group of villages as a whole, at 66 per cent. on any single village, and at 100 per cent. on any individual's holding. In order to bring the above-mentioned assessments in five subdivisions into accord with this resolution of Government the Survey Officers were directed to lower the maximum rate in each group of villages so as to bring its total revenue within 50 per cent. increase. After this, any case in which the increase was still above 75 per cent. in a village, or 100 per cent. in a holding, was to be reported specially for the orders of Government. In accordance with these instructions proposals were sent in, and received sanction, which reduced the enhancements in the five subdivisions to the amounts shown in the following statement :

Name of Sub-Division.	No. of Villages.	Average from 1836 to 1847.	Final Settlement of 1875-76.	Percentage Increase over Average.	Average Dry-Crop Rate.
		Rs.	Rs.		aa. ps.
Indāpur.....	78	81,184	1,11,866	38	6 6
Bhimthadi...	48	74,222	1,03,982	40	8 9
Haveli	83	80,965	1,13,773	41	11 10
Pābal.....	59	1,02,228	1,39,479	36	11 7
Supā	39	57,461	72,393	26	—

In 1878-79 forty villages in Purandhar were brought under the second revision; five of these were dumālā or shared villages. Most of the villages had belonged to the Sāsavad Mamlutdar's division, which had been settled in 1847. The subdivision bordered on Bhimthadi on the east, and on Haveli on the north. Its husbandry was similar to that in the neighbouring subdivisions, except that the land was more frequently ploughed, and a great deal of manure

used for sugar-cane and garden crops, while dry-crop lands were also manured when enough manure could be procured. During the survey lease communications had been greatly improved. In 1847 the only made road was that by the Bápdeo Ghát from Poona to Sátára, which was mostly used by pack-bullocks, and but little by carts. By 1878 there were numerous lines of communication with different large markets, the chief of which was Poona. In the matter of prices of the three principal grains, viz., jowári, bájri, and wheat, there was an increase of fully 100 per cent. The following statement shows the progress in cultivation and realization of revenue during the lease, and for 10 years previous to it.

Years.	Occupied Acres.	Waste Acres.	Remissions.	Outstanding Balances.	Collections.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1837 to 1847	19,834	2,046	2,500	—	17,924
1847 to 1857	40,209	1,148	81	352	16,932
1857 to 1867	41,025	373	8	1	18,130
1867 to 1877	41,420	214	—	521	18,390

Population in these villages had increased by 22 per cent., flat-roofed and tiled houses by 19·7 per cent., and thatched houses by 15·1, ploughs by 36·4 per cent., and carts from 60 to 315, or 425 per cent. The value of land, as ascertained by the sums for which it was mortgaged and sold, was higher than in any subdivision hitherto dealt with. The villages were divided into five groups for maximum dry-crop rate, with the result shown in the following statement.

GROUPS AND NO. OF VILLAGES.	FIRST SETTLEMENT.	NEW SETTLEMENT. DRY CROP.		
		Assessment.	Increase per cent.	Maximum Dry Crop Rate.
	Rs.			Rs. as.
1. 1	3,257	5,114	57	2 0
2. 2	1,586	2,067	30·3	1 14
3. 10	11,244	14,320	27·4	1 10
4. 2	1,273	1,446	13·6	1 8
5. 2	1,373	1,721	25·3	1 6
17	18,733	24,668	3·16	

Inclusive of all descriptions of land, the revision caused an increase of 52·8 per cent in the rental.

The lands of the other 18 villages were intermixed with those of the first seventeen. The climate, communications, and markets were the same in both. In the ten years before the first settlement the average area of waste had been 5,235 acres, which had fallen by 1877-78 to one of four. Population had increased by 22·9 per cent., flat-roofed and tiled houses by 18·2 per cent., carts by 121 per cent., and working wells by 36·8 per cent. Thatched houses decreased by 23·3 per cent. (326 to 250), farm cattle by 19·7 per cent., and ploughs 17·9 per cent. If these statistics are correct, economical farming must have made great progress in the thirty years. The villages were arranged in six groups, with maximum dry-crop rates varying from Rs.2 12as. to Rs.1 6as., giving an increase of 34·3 per cent., exclusive of water rates, and 39 per cent., inclusive of them. The average acre rate rose from 8as. 2ps. to 11as. 2ps. In a small quantity of rice cultivation, a proposed maximum of Rs. 8 gave an average rate of only Rs.2 3as. 7ps., and all new rice and garden lands were assessed at dry-crop rates. There was a total area of 1,435 acres of garden land, for the portion of which irrigated from channels a maximum of Rs. 8 was proposed.* The result is shown in the subjoined statement.

GROUPS AND NO. OF VILLAGES.	GOVERNMENT OCCUPIED LAND.					
	<i>Old Settlement.</i>		<i>Revision Settlement.</i>			
	Area—acres.	Rupess.	Area.	Rupess.	Percentage Increase.	Maximum rate per Acre.
1. 3	4,375	2,812	4,406	4,481	59·4	Rs. 25, 2 12
2. 3	1,844	1,125	1,935	1,693	50·5	2 0
3. 2	5,721	3,003	5,908	4,716	57·0	1 14
4. 1	242	124	245	127	2·4	1 12
5. 1	1,387	869	1,481	1,128	29·8	1 8
6. 8	22,906	10,553	22,930	13,486	27·3	1 6
18	36,475	18,486	36,900	25,631	39·0	—

Proposals for the revision of the survey assessment in the Mával subdivision, the greater portion of which was settled in 1853-54, were submitted and sanctioned by Government in 1887 for the usual period of thirty years. Considerable changes in its constitution had been made in the meanwhile, 46 villages having been added to it from Khed and Haveli, and 84 transferred from it to the latter ; it accordingly now consists of 142 Government and 26 alienated villages. It was one of the Tálukas originally surveyed and assessed by Mr. Pringle, much of whose work had been confirmed at the settlement of 1853-54. This arrangement having on the whole proved unsatisfactory, both measurement and classification of soils have been redone under recent orders, with the result that 17,241 old survey numbers have become 30,919 under the revision, each man's holding being now separately recorded and assessed, excessively large fields broken up, and all alienated lands divided off from those paying rent directly to Government. The difference in the general area amounted to only 411 acres out of 2,12,728 in favour of the new measurement.

Mával is now bounded on the north and west by Khed and Haveli, on the south by the country of the Punt Suchiv of Bhor, and it is separated from the Thána Collectorate on the west mostly by the Sahyádrí range. It is generally hilly, and is divided by five spurs from that range into valleys from east to west. The Indráni river and its tributary streams drain all but the southernmost valley, the latter being watered by the Páwana, which through part of its course forms the southern boundary of the subdivision. Along the valley of the Indráni run both the old made road between Bombay and Poona, and the south-eastern branch of the Great Indian Peninsula railway. The southernmost valley, that of the Páwana, ranks next to this in size and accessibility, but the others contain little level ground, and are difficult of access for wheeled carriages. Along the banks of the Páwana, and up the valley of the Indráni to within five or six miles of the Ghát crest, there

is good black soil, but the prevailing dry-crop soil is reddish or grey, poor in depth and quality, but easily tilled, and capable of yielding fine crops of the usual hill products. Rice is raised of peculiar excellence. A large proportion of its area, nearly a half, is left uncultivated, partly for the supply of Poona with hay, and partly for grass to be used in the rice lands as *ráb*, or ash manure. The climate, as in all districts lying near the Gháts, varies greatly, the rainfall at Lanaoli in the west being about 162 inches in the year, at Khadkálá in the centre nearly 70, and at Talegaon in the east about 40½. Owing to excessive clearing of forest on the hill slopes—a matter only lately taken in hand, and a remedy by tree-planting provided by the Forest Department—great denudation has taken place, which the efforts of generations will be required to counteract. The railway has four stations within the limits of Mával, and at one of them, Talegaon, is the principal local market, which is the depôt for the trade between Khed, Junnar, and Bombay. Poona is supplied with most of its grass and a good deal of its firewood from the Khadkálá station. Lanaoli contains a large European and Eurasian population, dependent partly on local supplies, and here and at other places there are small bazaars held, so that on the whole the subdivision is well off in the matter of outlets for its produce. There are hardly any manufactures, except that of a little oil from “*khorásní*,” pressed in rude mills. During the currency of the first survey lease for thirty years, the population in 133 out of 142 villages has increased by about 42 per cent., and now represents a density of 153 per square mile; this, considering the proportion of hilly and uninhabited country, is rather high. The number of carts has increased by about 75½ per cent., and that of agricultural cattle, although its advance, 8·7 per cent., is apparently small, has kept pace with the increased area of tillage, as it gives the proportion of a pair of oxen to nine acres of cultivation. The following statement shows that prices on the whole have advanced to about double in the course of the settlement.

Period.	Average Price in Seers per Rupee.		
	Bajri.	Wheat.	Cleaned rice
First Year of Settlement	34	26	15
Ten years from 1852-53 to 1861-62.....	26	21½	13½
Second decade from 1862-63 to 1871-72	12½	10½	7½
Fourteen years from 1872-73 to 1885-86	15½	12	9

Not to go into too great detail, the returns for 100 villages show that from an occupied area of 28,925 acres, assessed at Rs. 33,956 in the year before the introduction of the settlement, cultivation had risen in 1885-86 to 69,790 acres, yielding Rs. 41,886, while the remissions had been nominal, amounting casually in the worst year to only Rs. 123. Collections had been made without difficulty: in the three last years, from 1883-84 to 1885-86, out of a total number of 1,787 notices for the sale of occupancy rights issued, on account of unpunctual payment of instalments of revenue, the demands of the Collector have been paid up without requiring the sale of a single field. There were thus perceptible signs of such an advance in the general prosperity of the subdivision as to warrant an increase of assessment up to the limit allowed by the orders of Government, and this view, although objected to by the Revenue and Survey Commissioners, has been adopted by the Bombay Government, and finally sanctioned by the India Office.

The second group of 67 villages includes the open country at the mouth of the Indráini valley, the villages on each side of the railway and the Bombay road as far westward as the Gháts, and 13 villages in the valley of the Páwana, which but for their inferior communications might have gone into the first group. The old maximum dry-crop rates varied from R.1 4as. to R.1 6as., and have now been raised to R.1 8as.; the maximum rate for rice is the same as in the first group. The third group, of 39 villages, lies in the remoter parts of the valley of the Indráini and along the northern border, with a few in the

Pāwana valley. Though equal in climate to the second group, the communications of this are not so good. The maximum dry-crop rate of R.1 4as. in the majority of these villages remains as before, being lowered in five from R.1 6as., and raised in three from one rupee. The maximum rice rate adopted is Rs. 7. In the fourth group, of 22 villages stretching along the crest of the Ghāts, and in some cases down the western slopes, the old maximum dry-crop rate of a rupee has also been retained, and one of Rs. 6 adopted for rice. The climate here is excessively moist, and wheeled traffic is almost unknown. The area of rice cultivation in Government land has increased in the course of the settlement from 10,915 to 14,786 acres; the average assessment rises from Rs.2 2as. 9ps. to Rs.2 8as. 9ps. per acre. The area recorded as garden in the old survey was only 26 acres, assessed at an average of Rs.11 1as. 10ps. the acre; it is now 186 acres, assessed as follows:

	Acres.	Average rate.		
		Rs.	as.	ps.
Motasthal (under wells)	151	2	1	3
Patasthal (under channels)	35	3	10	1

The rules regarding non-assessment at extra rates of land improved at the tenant's expense, and reducing that under old wells to dry-crop rates, have been strictly adhered to. The general effect of the revision is shown below.

CLASS AND No. OF VILLAGES.	By Old Survey.		By Revised Survey.						
	Government occupied Land.		Government Occupied Land.		Waste.		Total.		Increase per cent.
	Area.	Rupies.	Area.	Rupies.	Area.	Rupies.	Area.	Rupies.	
1. 14	13,580	13,535	13,734	13,679	425	371	14,009	13,876	148
2. 62	25,871	34,131	26,373	35,361	3,704	1,305	29,417	37,236	317
3. 10	21,481	17,119	27,265	16,749	1,792	667	29,524	17,424	307
4. 38	11,673	3,495	13,891	5,199	381	100	14,554	7,435	374
142	1,00,027	64,360	1,08,259	85,487	6,104	3,784	1,14,364	89,269	302

I have thus placed before your readers a brief sketch

of the history of the Land Revenue Administration of a Bombay collectorate, tracing it from the commencement of British Rule up to the present day. The change from the barbarous methods of the Mahratta *régime*, which, as Mountstuart Elphinstone pointed out in the minute quoted at the commencement, depopulated the Province of Khândesh in course of ten years, to the enlightened system under which the the Deccan ryot now lives, and but for his own improvidence would flourish, must strike the most careless observer. From never knowing what the demands upon him would be in any year, demands enforced, if not promptly met, by actual torture, he now can tell off upon his fingers the exact amount he has to pay for every field in his occupancy, that amount never being liable to increase on account of any improvement he may make in his land for the purpose of raising superior crops, and being only liable to variation at the end of the thirty years' settlement on general considerations, such as the establishment of better markets or a general rise in the value of agricultural produce. He can at any time by a simple petition throw up, or transfer by mortgage or sale, the whole or any portion of his holding, or retain it from generation to generation by payment of a moderate rent, leviable in such instalments as to admit of his meeting them, by the realization of his produce. He is, in fact, a peasant proprietor, liable only from year to year to the payment of a fixed sum, the liability to which he can relinquish at any time without fine, forfeiture, or penalty of any kind. And all of these solid benefits he has derived from the beneficent system of the Revenue Survey and Settlement, the gradual development of which, as well as its detailed processes, I have endeavoured to describe in this Article.

A. ROGERS.

ENGLAND AND PERSIA.

MORE than one event during the last twelve months has served to bring into notice the relations between England and Persia, and to place them in a more favourable light than has been the case for a great many years. There was the incident at Jask, then came the surrender of Ayoob Khan, and now we have the opening of the Karun river. In all these matters the Shah's Government, which is only a Foreign Office phrase for Shah Nasreddin himself, has shown remarkable and unexpected eagerness to accept our views, yield to our demands, and even to anticipate our wishes. If the first impulse would be to attribute this gratifying change to increased wisdom at Teheran, or to a more correct sense of the peril in which Persia stands from the friendly hug of the Northern Bear, the second and probably better founded reflection is that it must be largely due to the more sympathetic and vigorous expression of English policy since Sir Henry Drummond Wolff arrived in the Shah's capital. As an early advocate of that course, I cannot help feeling personal satisfaction in quoting some passages on the subject from my "England and Russia in Central Asia,"* published in March, 1879, and they will also serve as a suitable text for the following remarks on current events and the future development of our Persian policy :

"The narrative of our past relations with Persia cannot fail to remind us that our position has been much affected by doubt and want of purpose in the past. We have often apparently not known what our policy should

* "England and Russia in Central Asia" (W. H. Allen & Co.), vol. ii. pp. 215-9.

be, and, when we have chanced to have come to some determination upon the subject, we have usually marred its effect by vacillation in carrying it into execution. It is high time that this state of things should cease. We are no longer unskilled in the mysteries of Central Asian statecraft. We may even claim to be quite as skilled as the Russians, and, this being so, it is vain for us to pretend to shut our eyes to the fact that to secure a strong position in Persia should be the corner-stone of the foreign policy of India. . . . It is difficult to imagine a country more strikingly favoured in every respect than the kingdom of the Shah, and although Persia has been shorn of much of its power by the loss of the Caspian provinces, it still remains a State of sufficient strength and resources to present a bold face even to a great Power.

"It is very necessary that the policy of this country with regard to Persia should return to the first principles upon which it was based in the earlier years of the century, and, by putting aside that spirit of indifference which is ill suited to a Power charged with the trusteeship of such important interests as England is, assist in regenerating a country which was never weaker than at the present moment. . . . The Shah is practically impotent, and must do what Russia orders him. In this fact lies the secret of our policy. We should give him and his ministers the moral courage which they require to enable them to resist the Russian demands. . . . It will require a bold, consistent, and determined policy, advocated with skill and pushed with eager determination, to recover all the ground we have lost. But it is not too late for diplomacy to retrieve the day. . . . The Central Asian Question cannot be solved by divided action in any one phase of it. There must be vigour throughout, but nowhere can vigour be more beneficial than at Teheran, where it has been so long absent."

The opening of the Karun river to the commerce of the world, which, however, means practically British India, has served as a sort of notification to Russia that Persia wishes to escape from the tutelage in which the Czar's ministers hoped to keep her. In itself the concession may not be of the greatest value, but it is one for which Anglo-Indian merchants and politicals had been striving for more than thirty years, and it therefore represents a reward of English patience, and seems to indicate a growth of English influence. The excitement of the Russian press is, consequently, not surprising, especially as they must be aware of the military and strategical* advantages to be derived in time

* On this point no one has written with greater force than the late General John Jacob. He said: "In possession of this line of country opening on the valley of the Euphrates, taking these maritime provinces, especially the valley of the Karun, as our base, with full arsenals, magazines,

of war from the control of the Karun, and the improvement of communications that may be expected to follow the increase of trade in the provinces of Khuzistan and Luristan. The vindication of our interests must necessarily prove fruitful of incidents displeasing to our rivals, and the Karun river question furnishes only the first passage in what must be a keen contest between the diplomacy and trade of the two Empires in Persia. The hope would be unreasonable and absurd to suppose that, after having left Russia for so many years in undisputed possession of diplomatic supremacy at Teheran, our successes, however insignificant and unimportant, should receive anything but the marked disapproval of the Russian officials and press. As those successes become more marked and produce more definite results, that disapproval will increase, and the Russian Government will be urged to take vigorous steps to compel the Shah to pursue a one-sided policy of bestowing exceptional favours on Russian subjects, and excluding other nations from their legitimate rights as friends and allies. For all this we must be prepared, as the necessary consequences of any attempt to prevent the Shah becoming another Ameer of Bokhara, and the considerable resources of his State in men and supplies being enrolled in the service of Russia.

The Karun river concession has been rendered more bitter for the Russian palate by several rebuffs which the Persian Foreign Minister has given to the unreasonable demands of Prince Dolgorouki. As those demands relate, with one exception, viz., the Consulate at Meshed, to matters which do not concern this country, and with which our Minister at Teheran would not think of interfering, the random allegations of the *Novoye Vremya* that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff has instigated the obstructiveness of the Teheran

and supplies of all kinds ready there, instead of being immediately dependent on distant support from Bombay and Sindh, we should be in a position, in case of a renewed war with Russia, to march an Anglo-Turkish army into Georgia, and there, co-operating with other forces sent, if necessary, *enl'abri*, to drive the Russians behind the Caucasus and to keep them there" ("Views and Opinions of General J. Jacob," 1858, p. 105).

Government, need not disturb our serenity, and certainly do not call for notice. It is of no interest to us if M. Vlassoff cannot get his *exequatur* at Resht, or that corn is not freely exported to Lutfabad, or that the Persians are shirking the construction of their half of the road from Ashkabad to Kouchan, and the only concern we can affect in the appointment of a Russian Consul at Meshed is that if it were sanctioned we should require the same concession to be made to us. Of all the other questions we are indifferent, and, indeed, ignorant of the respective merits of the Russian and Persian cases, for, of course, the Shah's ministers have something to say upon the facts, and as to their obligations, as well as the servants of the Czar. Still, it is not to be denied that these extraneous circumstances are calculated to increase the irritation felt in Russia about what is a distinct result of English diplomacy.

None of these questions, with the exception of the projected Consulate at Meshed, are likely to present serious difficulty in the way of settlement. M. Vlassoff will get his *exequatur* in due course—the newspaper accounts are not clear in distinguishing between the Consular cases at Resht and Meshed—and the provisions of the Convention between Russia and Persia as to the Khorassan frontier will have to be complied with. Whether Prince Dolgorouki remains at Teheran, or is superseded, it will not need very strong language or angrily-worded despatches to obtain these results, which may serve to appease the excited *amour propre* of the journalists of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Shah, without committing himself too far, will have been provided with an opportunity of judging what are the opinions held towards him by the friendly Government of Russia, and he and his ministers are quite capable of arriving at logical conclusions. It will not be to our disadvantage if Russian diplomacy in Persia passes through a protracted phase of bluster, and if the existing friction at Teheran should be aggravated before it is removed.

If the particular cases that have been referred to are not

calculated to produce any serious rupture between Russia and Persia, such a contingency is not likely to arise from any sudden impulse inducing the Russian authorities to proceed to extremities against the Persian Government. Russia can gain nothing by converting into an open enemy one whom she has always wished to represent as a friend and *protégé*. Were she to do so, not merely would she lose all the indirect advantages of Persia's pretensions to Herat, but she would have to conduct campaigns without the supplies of Persia, or prosecute first a costly and laborious war for the coercion of the Shah, with the absolute certainty that her conquest could never be complete, as England would have no difficulty in compelling her to keep at a respectful distance from the sea-coast. It will be long indeed before Russia will proceed to the extremity of violence against the Shah, and when she does it can hardly take any other form than that of an overt encroachment in the direction of Herat, which would at once constitute a serious menace to the Government of India. Notwithstanding the vapourings of the Russian press, the threatening language of Prince Dolgorouki or his successor, and even the wish in the highest quarters to bring the Shah into abject subjection, Russia has found in Persia another Bulgaria, and, if we only play the cards left to us with sufficient skill, there is no reason for the Shah's independence or dignity to be in any way endangered, and for Persia to become, as it threatened to be, a preserve of the Czar.

So far as one may judge from the opinions expressed in the newspapers, and from the talk in well-informed circles, the danger is not that Russia may resort to extreme measures in order to have the satisfaction of coercing its former Asiatic ally, but that England, frightened at the consequences of its slight and little meaning success in regard to the Karun valley, will pave the way, by a return to its old self-effacement, for some striking success, and the recovery of its old predominant position by Russia. It may be premature, therefore, to attribute to the opening of the Karun

river all the importance that it would possess as the first step in the more energetic and consistent expressions of English rights in Persia. We have to wait for the solution of this point—viz., whether the Karun river opening was merely the tardy reward of long demanding and patient persistence, or the direct consequence of an important and radical change in the mutual policy of England and Persia. I can only hope that the latter represents the true version, but I fear the most hopeful supposition will not justify our regarding it as more than a tentative measure, tentative both as regards its effect on English opinion at home as well as its immediate results in Persia.

Under these circumstances it is the more necessary to point out in some detail the reasons which render it advisable that a radical change should take place in our Persian policy, and that an attempt should be made to revive the independent spirit of the Shah and his people, so that they may not become mere tools in the hands of an astute and unscrupulous Power. Those results, it is obvious, cannot be obtained without an effort, and it depends very much on the due appreciation of the facts connected with the military and political situation in Western Asia whether the effort will be made.

However tardily the admission has come, something is gained when it is allowed that Persia, enfeebled and awkwardly placed as she is, still counts as a factor in Central Asian politics. For thirty years, and even more, we have not possessed the semblance of a policy in Persia. We have had Afghan policies of different forms and complexions, and they have entailed one obligation which has affected the Shah, and which we have carefully fulfilled—the exclusion of Persia from Herat. But although Persia has always been a more civilized and amenable State than Afghanistan, we have never, since the missions of Sir John Malcolm and Sir Gore Ouseley, attempted to carry out the intelligent policy which would have kept Persia on friendly terms with ourselves, and which might have resulted in

her own regeneration. Before Persia was crippled by the effeteness of her own administration, and effaced by the new development of Russian power at Merv and along the Attock, the English Government would take no pains to establish a cordial understanding at Teheran, believing at first that Persia counted for little, and afterwards that it would be impossible to supplant the influence of Russia. Now that Persia has been placed at a considerable material disadvantage, the effort to regain all our lost opportunities, and to place ourselves in as favourable a position as we might have occupied had we rigidly adhered to all the propositions in the Treaty of 1814, must be far greater and better sustained than there is good room for hoping from the precedents set in any other branch of our Central Asian policy. It is something to say that a success marks the beginning of the growth of interest, if not the development of a new policy, which must be inferred from the Karun river incident; and if Russia will only further embarrass the situation by errors of diplomacy and want of patience, which is far from improbable, we may count upon Persia's leaning towards us becoming more marked, and still more important upon English opinion making a sympathetic movement towards the effectual support of an overborne people struggling against the unwarrantable pretensions and demands of a grasping neighbour.

England has need of allies in Asia. The conditions in force when we conquered India are not the same as those under which we have to govern and retain it. We are exposed to the danger of external attack, which has been recognized by successive Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, and which has already added millions to the debt and annual expenditure of the Government of India. The situation in Europe does not encourage the belief that we can rely on the co-operation of any Power in any dispute or quarrel affecting India or Central Asia. We shall have to trust to our own resources alone, and in our natural desire to bring some of the forces of Asia

into the same camp as ourselves we have spared neither money nor endeavour to convert Afghanistan into a trustworthy ally : and, looking still further afield, we have based some hopes on the friendship and co-operation of China. But the most cursory consideration should serve to show that the uses of Afghanistan as an ally are immeasurably increased if Persia can be brought to recognize her identity of interest with ourselves in maintaining the present position in Central Asia. As an array of Asiatic States, a firm alliance, based on a military convention between India, Afghanistan, and Persia, would be very strong for offensive purposes, and would therefore contribute much towards the maintenance of peace, especially if there existed its counterpart in Eastern Asia in the avowed solidarity of the interests of England and China.

The advantages accruing from a close alliance with Persia are not confined to our securing the ruler of Afghanistan against the assertion of pretensions on the part of the Shah, which he has always found a difficulty in resisting, both at Herat and Candahar, or to the direct military co-operation of the Persian army, although that might, on the high authority of Sir Henry Rawlinson, be rendered far more efficient than is generally supposed. The chief advantage to be derived from it would consist in the obstructions placed in the way of Russia's action in Central Asia by the refusal of the Shah to be made any longer a cat's-paw. The Russian authorities themselves have admitted that the delay or obstruction in the delivery of corn at Lutfabad has caused them much inconvenience, and it has always been acknowledged that any considerable Russian force engaged on the Heri Rud would have to draw the bulk of its supplies from the Persian province of Khorassan. One of the immediate consequences in time of war of an alliance between England and Persia would be that the Russians would be deprived of their best and most convenient market, and that they would have to draw all their supplies from Europe. Another consequence would

be that Russia could not put forward Persia's claims to Herat as a screen for her own, nor could she hope for the support, as she has hoped, of the large Persian colony resident within that city.

It may of course be said that Russia could easily coerce the Shah by landing a force on the southern shore of the Caspian, and marching on the capital; but even allowing for the superiority of Russian troops, the occupation of Teheran would not be such a very easy matter, and even when accomplished, Russia would only be at the beginning of a very arduous and unprofitable enterprise if the Persian Government stood firm. Or it may be said that Russia would confine her action to the occupation of Meshed and the north-east corner of Khorassan, leaving the Shah to do his worst towards its recovery. No doubt this would prove a serious and embarrassing position for the Persian Government, and we should be compelled to take some pronounced step to relieve the Shah from the disadvantage under which he would thus be placed. If we were either unable or unwilling to accomplish this, the alliance between England and Persia would of course experience a natural and speedy dissolution. As Afghanistan would also be a party to any such alliance, there is no reason why we should be reduced to a condition of helpless observation.

There are, of course, objections to discussing the possibilities of a state of war while pacific relations remain undisturbed, especially as we have been so recently engaged in a serious and protracted effort to avert any difficulties between the two Empires; but we cannot close our eyes to a manifest attempt to prescribe a specific course for the Persian Government which shall have the effect of benefiting Russia and injuring England, and we have every right to resent and prevent such a policy being realized, as the Treaties giving Persia a place in the body of Asiatic States bear our signature as well as that of Russia. The responsibility of our discussing the consequences of a conflict between English and Russian interests and influence in

Persia must rest with the Russian press, which took umbrage at the very simple and harmless transaction relating to the Karun, and also with the Russian Government, for it has more than endorsed the line taken by its newspapers in sending back Prince Dolgorouki to the Persian Court with letters of a threatening and unfriendly purport. Russia has injured herself in more than one way by the attitude she has chosen to adopt in this question. She has in the first place treated us with a want of loyalty, not to speak of friendship; she has in the second place adopted a tone towards the sovereign and court of Persia that cannot fail to give umbrage; and lastly, she has, of her own act, exposed the hollowness of her pretensions to regard Persia as a subject province.

We must, therefore, hope on every ground that our Government will stand firm, and that it will not allow even the petition of the Shah, should he be coerced by threats into asking for the voluntary surrender of the concession, to induce us to waive one iota of the right we have obtained in common with the world by so much patience and persistency. Were we to give way, the Persians themselves would be the first to despise us, and to deem our support a broken reed. With regard to the projected Russian Consulate at Meshed, we must leave Persia to fight her own battle. The demand is really an unreasonable one, and meant to be unfriendly, and of course if Russia obtains the privilege to have a Consul there, we should expect a similar right to be given to us. But it may be difficult for the Shah to avoid compliance with what is a plausible demand, unless he is prepared to face an active Russian intervention within his own frontier.

The probable outcome of the present diplomatic friction and correspondence seems to be, that the Karun concession will stand, and that after more or less delay Russia will be allowed to establish a Consulate at Meshed. The period immediately before us will, therefore, provide the occasion for English policy in Persia to give practical evidence of

its skill, energy, and courage. We shall have to provide the Shah and his ministers with the moral courage to resist the unfair demands and intimidations of Russia, and at the same time we have no desire, and shall not go out of our way, to irritate Russia. That we cannot altogether help doing if we firmly carry out the resolve to thwart all schemes undertaken to our disadvantage, and chiefly in the hope of excluding English commerce as well as political influence from Persia. Yet if, on the other hand, we allow Persia to be browbeaten, and ourselves to be ignored, as to the settlement of matters in that country, which closely affect England, and which do not concern Russia, it is inevitable that we must resign all claim to be heard in Western Asia. We have no wish to quarrel with Russia in Persia, but honour and interest alike compel us to take up a definite position and make a firm stand.

Should matters reach the serious pass which now seems only too probable, especially as the Shah, if he has any reason to hope for English support, may wish to test its extent and firmness. We cannot afford to throw away a single chance in preparing for the grave events that must follow. The present situation being rendered more acute by either the extreme measures of Russia or the prolonged and obstinate resistance of the Shah, the time will certainly have arrived for us to obtain some control over the Persian army, which has already had English, French, Russian, and Austrian instructors, but which at present shows little or no trace of our old influence. It is not likely that this could be effected with regard to the northern army, although it ought to be perfectly feasible in the southern provinces. In connection with this subject it seems natural to mention that a very good commencement would be made by the release of Prince Zil-es-Sultan and his reappointment to the Governorship of Ispahan or some similar post. If it becomes necessary to incur great responsibility in assisting Persia to vindicate rights which she herself has resolved to uphold, it follows as an inevit-

able consequence that we must have some controlling power over the Persian army. This the Shah would probably be quite willing to give, but here again we have difficulty in deciding, when the right moment has been reached between timely precaution and unnecessary menace to Russia.

In addition to the military reorganization of the Shah's army, the only suggestion that need be made is to acquaint the Ameer Abdurrahman with all our views and intentions with regard to Persia, and to sound him as to the desirability of showing in a marked way that Persia and Afghanistan have laid aside old differences, and are now willing to admit unity of interest and of action. For that and other reasons it is much to be desired that an imposing mission may visit Cabul in the spring, and that it may be followed before the year is out by an interview and conference between the Shah and the Ameer at some place between Meshed and Herat. We live in an age of demonstrations, and open alliances serve as the best supports of peace, the aggressive Power fearing to provoke war with those who combine against it alone, on the same principle that the burglar shuns the house where he knows a revolver is kept. If we neglect to form these alliances, and to make the best use of them in Asia, we shall be strangely indifferent and obtuse, for Russia has not a single ally there, and we could have on our side all the States without exception, for it is now known that we have no wish to disturb their forms of Government, or interfere with their independence. Of all such alliances none is more necessary, and none could be more easily obtained than that with Persia.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

THE INDIAN "NATIONAL CONGRESS."

It was the boast of Rome that she, alone among the conquerors of antiquity, sought to obliterate from the mind of the vanquished the stigma of conquest, to include all her subject races within the pale of a common citizenship, and to teach them to look upon her as their common mother—

*"Hæc est in gremio victoræ sola recepta,
Humanumque genus communis nomine fovit,
Matris non dominæ ritu, civesque vocavit
Sæos, domuit."*

Although beset by greater difficulties than were encountered by Rome in the consolidation of her power, it has been the consistent policy of the Government of India to base its administration of that country on the same wise and beneficent principle. There is little in common between the vigorous and active English character and the lymphatic Indian temperament, between the practical methods of the one and the sentimental mysticism of the other. In endeavouring, therefore, to graft an English system of administration on the ancient Indian stock, the English Government has undertaken a more arduous and puzzling task than that which fell to the duty of Rome, working, throughout the European dominion at least, among peoples nearly akin to her own. Moreover, the ideal of good government has greatly changed since the Roman days, and the purity and justice of the English Government of India are very far in advance of those of Rome. In spite, however, of the obvious and recognized difficulty of the undertaking, England has, with in-

stinctive political wisdom, resolutely set her face against governing India merely as a conquered province.

In this endeavour the country has been covered with innumerable English schools ; the literature, the science, and the arts of Europe have been allowed unimpeded access ; the press has been made absolutely free, except of the customary restraints against private slander. No legislation interferes with the discussion of political questions, and the natives may write what they please on such matters, or hold public meetings to consider them, without let or hindrance from the Government. As under these conditions the numbers of the so-called " educated class " of the native community are increasing, the country has been covered to find an outlet for their energies with many municipalities and local boards ; the field of official employment, to meet their wants, is being enlarged, and native officers of high standing are to be found in every department of the Administration. In the first dignities at the Bar, on the benches of the High Courts, in the provincial magistracy and judicial service, in the Post Office, the Financial and Political Departments, native officers are being employed in increasing numbers. The Indian Government has often emphatically declared its determination to admit an ever-increasing proportion of natives to its services, and only last year, in its signal (as many think, overwrought) zeal for that purpose, it appointed an elaborate (perhaps one may say unwieldy) Commission to overhaul the Government Departments, with the object of ascertaining how far a yet enlarged sphere of official employment could be made available for that class. Everywhere there are signs that the Government is keenly sensitive to its responsibilities towards the " New India," which has itself created. But, while aware, no doubt, that governments, like other institutions, must adapt themselves, like living organisms, to changing circumstances, the Government of India cannot fail to perceive that the " educated native " is at present but as a drop in the

ocean of Indian humanity. Possibly about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the population might come under that species which in India popularly designates a native who can speak and write with some degree of fluency in the English tongue.* The great mass of "excitable barbarism," as Mr. John Morley has styled the unstable throngs of the Indian races who form the sea of which the "educated class" is but as the spray, requires careful management; and it may well appear to the Government of India that, as the country has been set upon the path of modern progress, caution is now a first necessity of the situation.

Unhappily, however, the cautious and steady advance of the government has proved little to the relish of a large section of the "educated class." The idea that liberty should "*slowly* broaden down from precedent to precedent" is distasteful to Asiatic vanity and extravagance. The country is ripe, so we are assured, for "gourd-like development," from which it is restrained only by the strong hand of the English Government. To force that hand, a large number of the English-educated natives of India have established a widespread and thoroughly organized system of agitation, of the extent and character of which, probably little is known in England, though it may be a subject of great moment to the welfare of the Indian administration.

The most prominent and tangible outcome of the movement, and that which has attracted some notice in England, is the assembly known as the "National Congress," an annual gathering of which there have been three sessions, at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras respectively, and of which the fourth session will be held at Allahabad on the 26th of December and three succeeding days. The native press in thousands of leading articles, hundreds of

* These words must not be taken as in any sense intended to convey a disparagement of the well-born, bred, and educated native gentlemen, of whom India contains a proportion as large as that of any country. Unhappily their reserve and modesty cause them to be overshadowed to popular view by another type of "educated" natives, whose qualities and attainments are very different.

vernacular pamphlets scattered broadcast over the land, paid itinerant lecturers,—in short all the devices of popular agitation are being utilized to advertise the Congress throughout the country, and to induce the masses to believe that on the accomplishment of its objects will follow the removal of every grievance that they have against the Government, or even against Providence. The supporters of the Congress affect to regard it as a national representative assembly, and speak of its members as the national representatives. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who has been on a stumping tour in England under the wing of Mr. Bradlaugh, as the accredited "representative in Great Britain of the Indian National Congress," habitually poses as the "representative of 200,000,000 British subjects." The popular Congress literature holds it always as a matter beyond dispute that the Congress represents the various creeds, races, and nationalities of India, or, to put it in orthodox form, "the Indian nation." These tactics are the more to be regretted as in the introduction to the Report on last year's Congress, a volume published by its direction, these large claims are expressly set aside. We find it there stated that the first Congress, which met at Bombay in December, 1885, consisted of some seventy native gentlemen, who had no representative character, but met together of their free will to discuss certain public questions. At the second and third Congresses* some 400 to 600 members are said to have been present, and are described as representatives elected at "public meetings," or by "associations" in various parts of India. The report states regarding this question of election that "Any town any of whose inhabitants felt interested in the question held a public meeting, . . . and thereat elected those men who were looked up to as leaders. Again, any association that desired to be represented, called a general meeting, and thereat elected one or more of its leading members, . . . Any one who wanted to be represented could be

* Calcutta, December, 1886; and Madras, December, 1887.

represented, but no one troubled about those who did not themselves come forward."

And we are assured that "as yet the Congress is not by any means so 'broad based upon the people's will' as has been supposed and asserted. . . . We cannot, making all allowances, see grounds for supposing that more than 10 per cent. of these (the population), at the utmost even indirectly and passively supported the Congress." Now in regard to these "public meetings" above alluded to, it is significant that local officers of Government are in many instances ignorant of the alleged fact that such meetings have been held, although date and place are ostentatiously printed in the Congress report. If a "public meeting" has been held in a town it is *prima facie* probable that the officer in charge of the locality would be aware of the fact, but inquiries have been made in several cases, and nothing can be ascertained about many of these meetings. Is it putting a strained interpretation on the problem to suggest that the solution is to be found in the supposition that the local supporters of the Congress, stimulated to action by some centrally-situated wirepullers, met privately, dubbed themselves a "public meeting," and appointed one of their number to "represent" the town or district? The less said about that allied power, the "association," the better for the interests of the Congress itself. The country is covered with a mushroom growth of these "associations." * There is hardly a town in India which does not boast of one or more "associations." They consist, as a rule, of the subordinate legal practitioners,† who practice in the local

* Many of the associations in the Presidency towns are of a wholly different character, consisting as they do of native gentlemen of influence and standing. They are of real aid to the authorities, and form a useful link between the Government and those whose interests they represent. The remarks in the text must be taken also to apply only to the Hindu Associations. The Mohammedan bodies are of a more respectable stamp.

† *I.e., Vakils.* A *Vakil* is an advocate who has been admitted to practice before a local court on passing certain examinations held in India. His professional standing is thus different to that of a barrister, and he commands smaller emoluments. In the *Mofussil* (*i.e.*, provincial) court, a

courts, the clerks in the local government offices, the editors of the local vernacular papers, and a number of precocious schoolboys, who are receiving an eleemosynary education at the local government schools. They all flaunt proud designations such as the "People's Association," and the "National League"; but these imposing titles do not always carry that weight which they otherwise might, inasmuch as inquiries have lighted on "People's Associations" consisting of three schoolboys. Such as they are, however, they are the centres from which radiate all manner of ill-will and uncharitableness against the established government. They are the distributories of innumerable tracts and pamphlets, containing outrageous criticism on Government action, and the ready champions of anything that may tend to embarrass that authority. In many cases it is to be feared they are promoters of sedition, and support intrigue, having for their end the overthrow of British rule in India. Their power for mischief is much increased by the fact that they are organized under head-centres, and work with all the precision of a well-arranged machine. Instead of vaunting its connection with these bodies the Congress, which poses as the representative of the loyal intelligence of the country, would do well to cut loose from them. Unhappily for itself it might under such an attempt collapse altogether.

It is significant of the real aim and tendencies of the Congress, that the great Mohammedan community of India has held aloof from it, and the significance of this abstention is enhanced by the strong ruling instinct in that community. The Congress affects to question this only too palpable fact, but there really can be no doubt about it to any impartial person. Stimulated by the allegations of the Congress agitators that their community was for it, the Mohammedans have during

Vakil will take a brief for four annas (about 6d.). The profession is composed almost entirely of natives. They form the most active agents in the popular agitation now prevalent in India.

the current year held upwards of fifty meetings* in all parts of India to publicly protest against the movement. The Mohammedan newspapers, with not one exception that I know of, teem with articles and letters condemning the agitation. The leaders of the community have held aloof from it. The names carry little significance in England, but those who know India will understand the meaning of the statement that the leading Mohammedans of India, such as Sir Syed Ahmed, Syed Amir Ali, Syed Hossain Belgrami, Raja Amir Hossain Khan, Moulvi Abdul Jabbar, the Hon. Mohammed Ali Rogai, Kazi Shahabuddin Khan, Sir Nawazish Ali Khan, Nawab Abdul Majid Khan, Syed Hossain Khan, have openly stated their disapproval of the methods and measures of the Congress. Sir Salar Jung has written to Sir Syed Ahmed expressing his concurrence with their views; and the Nizam of Hyderabad has given Sir Syed Ahmed a large donation to help him to work against the Congress.

It is true that some Mohammedans† have joined that movement, but it is noteworthy that these men, with few exceptions, are persons of low estate, or are cut off by religious differences from the great bodies of the Sunni and Shiah Mohammedans of the country. Referring to the former of these points, Sir Syed Ahmed, in a recent speech, remarked—

"Who does not know who were the three or four Mohammedans of the North-West Provinces who took part with them, and why they took part? The simple truth is they were nothing more than hired men. Such men they took to Madras, and having got them there, said, 'These are the sons of gentlemen, and these are landed proprietors of such-and-such districts, and these are such-and-such great Mohammedans,' whilst every one here knows how the men were bought."

In further illustration of the Mohammedan defection may be added the fact that the Mohammedans of Bengal, where are to be found one half of the whole Moham-

* One at Lucknow last May of upwards 20,000 strong.

† Eighty-three are said to have been present at the Madras Congress last December.

medan community of India, were "represented" at Madras by one Syed Mohammed Hossain Ghouse, a Mohammedan Hakim, or medical practitioner, who is described in the official Congress report as "Health Officer, Turkish Government, Bagdad."*

To sum up this matter; the Congress represents not the various races and creeds of India, nor yet the entire English-educated class of the Indian community,† but only the Hindu section of that class, and it is to be regretted that, with such ample proofs as exist on that point, the supporters of the movement should affect to make people believe that the gathering is nothing short of a national assembly.

Such being the constitution and character of the Congress, let us next see what are the measures it advocates? These measures have been embodied in a series of Resolutions passed at each day's sitting of the three Congresses. They cover wide ground, and have varied from Congress to Congress. As those passed at the last session express no doubt the mature opinions of the leaders of the movement, we may take them as indicating the changes in the Government of India, which the party wishes to see carried out. We find, then, that the resolutions called for (i.) an enlargement of the Legislative Councils by the "admission of a considerable number of members elected by ourselves," and the grant of power to these enlarged Councils to "regulate and control the expenditure, and to make laws and to exercise other powers;" (ii.) the separation of the

* The Panjab was "represented" by nine delegates, of whom six were *rakhs* and two editors of vernacular papers. In the Panjab and generally in Upper India the name of many of the delegates indicate that they are Bengalis, that is to say, that they are as much foreigners to the people of the land as Englishmen themselves. There are many colonies of Bengalis scattered throughout Northern India, and it is from their ranks that the Congress agitators in that part of the country are mostly drawn.

† The Oudh Taluqdars (the landlords of Bajour of Oudh, as they are styled) held a large meeting in Lucknow in March last, and placed on record a formal vote against the Congress. The other day the Sikhs, assembled at their sacred city Amritsar, did the same.

judicial and executive functions of magisterial officers "even though this should in some provinces involve some extra expenditure;" (iii.) the opening of military service in its higher grades to the natives of the country; (iv.) the creation of a native volunteer corps; (v.) the raising of the income-tax* minimum to Rs. 1,000; (vi.) the establishment of institutions for technical education; (vii.) the amendment of the Arms Act† in the sense that if any class or person is debarred from the use of arms the reason in each case should be recorded in writing and published.

It is unnecessary to enter here into a detailed investigation of the merits of all these proposals. Some of them obviously relate to administrative questions, which for their proper elucidation require careful inquiry at the hands of experts. The Government is gradually and cautiously feeling its way to the employment of native officers of the army in higher military and diplomatic service. In the late Black Mountain expedition, Colonel Aslam Khan, of the Bengal Cavalry, commanded a contingent of Khyber levies with the greatest distinction. His brother is our Agent at Kabul. Perhaps, with such instances before it, the Government might proceed more boldly on the line on which it is advancing. The demand for the creation of native volunteer corps "to defend the Empire in the hour of danger," as a Congress orator expressed it, is perhaps a trifle strained; and, curiously enough, it is most loudly clamoured for by the Babus of Bengal, a country that does not contribute a single recruit to the Indian army. The natives can themselves do a great deal more for the promotion of indigenous industry than any number of technical institutions,

* One of the speakers described this tax as "an odious income tax, vilely administered, and imposed, not to meet the expenses of our Government, but to provide funds to enable Great Britain to annex Burma or menace Russia" (loud and continued applause).

† The present procedure is that, while the Act is in theory a general one, individuals and classes are exempted from its operations. The exemptions are becoming so numerous that the Act is likely before long to become practically a dead letter.

which are luxuries that a hard-pressed Government cannot well afford, even if their utility was better proved than is the case.

A detailed investigation of these minor resolutions is the less needful because the essence of all the Congress demands is really to be found in the first of the series, that which calls for an enlargement of the Councils, by the admission of "a considerable number of members, elected by ourselves." We get in this proposal at the heart and core of the whole Congress movement. At the meeting at which this resolution was passed by the last Congress, the speakers explicitly stated that it was not desirable to enter into particulars of the best way in which the Councils could thus be enlarged, as such a course would give the enemy an opportunity to attack points of detail. Some private schemes were forthcoming, but they were not officially endorsed by the meeting. There is, however, no want of light to indicate to us the true character of the proposal, and what is meant by an "enlargement" of the Councils. The speakers at all three Congresses have insisted that the country is ripe for representative institutions; the second Congress placed on record its formal opinion that "in view of the poverty of the people of India, representative institutions ought to be established in India, as this would place it within our power to effect those reforms which we believed to be necessary to relieve that poverty;" the Congress literature echoes and re-echoes the cry with ceaseless clamour. The proposer of the resolution regarding the Councils, at the third Congress, Babu Surendronath Banerjee* made a most successful oration on the subject, opening his speech with these words:—

"The dream of ages is about to be realized. The differences of generations are about to be forgotten, and a noble prospect is opening out to

* Babu Surendronath Banerjee was formerly in the Bengal Civil Service. He was removed from it by the Secretary of State for India, on the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir George Campbell), and the Government of India, for falsifying certain records. He is now one of the most active of the Congress agitators.

view, a prospect fraught with brilliance, with beauty, and untold happiness to the people. I will not dare to anticipate the future, nor will I indulge in the ecstasies of prophetic vision; but this I undertake to say that whatever may be the future of the Congress, and with it of the country, we are on the right track, that track of light, leading to the destined goal (loud and continued applause), marked by the consolidation of British rule and the emancipation of our people. Gentlemen, we attach the utmost importance to this question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. We accord to it the foremost place among the topics of discussion. We unfurl the banner of the Congress, and upon it are written in characters of glittering gold, which none may efface, the great words of this resolution—"Representative Institutions for India." Are we guided by mere sentimental considerations in making this act of deliberate choice. Ah, no! There are the strongest reasons why the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils should be placed in the forefront of the topics to be discussed by the Congress. It is impossible to think of a domestic grievance, or a matter of domestic complaint, which will not be remedied if the constitution of the Councils were changed and remodelled according to our programme. Talk of the separation of judicial from executive functions, why the reform would be effected at once if we had a potential voice in the making of our laws. Talk of the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service, why the Queen's Proclamation would be vindicated to the letter, if we had some control over the management of our domestic concerns (applause). You fret and fume under the rigour of an income-tax which touches even the necessities of subsistence, why the incidence of the tax would be altered, the minimum raised, if we had anything to do with the imposition of the tax, or if we were permitted to modify it (applause). I might multiply instances, but that is not necessary; the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils would be a panacea for countless grievances in relation to the administration of the country."

Another speaker on the same occasion observed:—

"I think this very Congress is proof positive of our ripeness for the task, and of the intelligence and knowledge which would be brought to bear upon the affairs of the nation, if only the Government were kind enough to accede to our wishes" (applause).

A third soaring to loftier heights said:—

"I feel as if the Almighty hand were outstretched for the helping of our cause. I begin to see that the Ruler of all the nations of the world has ordained that we should get representative institutions as soon as we sufficiently exert ourselves."

Another urged them to "place your hands on the purse-strings of Government," and assured them that "you will taste the true meaning of power and freedom when once you control the finances."

The keynote of the pamphlets issued by the Congress is the same demand for representative institutions, in other words, for the transfer of the government from the existing executive to an administration formed of the supporters of that assembly.

To those who have reflected on the necessity of the existence in India of a strong centralized government, it is apparent that such measure of representative institutions as it may be possible to introduce into the imperial administration can only be partial and limited. The ultimate authority must rest with the British Government. British rule in India would not survive the reduction of the Viceroy to the position of a figure-head like a Colonial Governor. Subject to the essential condition that the Executive Government remains supreme, there can be no question that the Legislative Council might be advantageously reformed. The idea of enlarging and rendering it of a more popular character has been before the Government for several years, and considerable changes would have been introduced in their constitution during the viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin had it not been for the opposition of the India Office. At the same time, it may be well to note that the Congress writers and speakers have, apparently from a sense of professional duty, painted in tints of unnatural gloom the demerits of the Council as at present constituted. Sir Auckland Colvin, in a recent letter on the subject of the Congress, says in allusion to these institutions:—

"To me, who witnessed in 1885 the debates over the Bengal Rent Act in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and assisted in 1886 in the passing of the Oudh Rent Act, by which the rights of the cultivators in Oudh were affirmed and maintained by the Government; who witnessed the strenuous opposition of the Bengal zemindars and the Oudh talukdars, ably led and stoutly conducted by their representatives in the Legislative Council; and who had occasion, I may add, at the same time, to admire the capacity and thorough sifting of the subject which characterized their proceedings in Select Committee, the assertion in these paragraphs that the Legislative Council is a sham, that progress and reform are equally impossible, that the Government will not choose members who will fight for what they

believe to be their rights, that the native members of the Council never oppose the Government, that the measures of the Government are opposed to the rights of the people, is amazing. It was on behalf of the rights of the very class—the ryots, *i.e.*, the peasantry—to whom these pamphlets are addressed that the Government, in strong opposition to the native members of its Legislative Council, was in both instances contending.

"It would have seemed incredible to me that, within a few months of the opposition and public excitement which those measures aroused, any one could have penned the passages to which I call attention. They may pass muster in England, because, as is said, truly enough, in the same pamphlet: 'The English nation do not at all understand the real state of affairs here. . . . Everything, in short, is so different that, to understand matters here, an Englishman who has never lived in India must *make* a regular study of the subject.' To us, however, whose business in life it is to make a regular study of the subject, it must be a matter of the deepest regret that those who are equally well informed with ourselves should, in the course of their endeavours to remodel the scheme of administration in India, put forward illustrations such as these. My own experience of the native members of the Legislative Council is that, while they are apathetic so long as questions are under discussion in which they feel no immediate concern, so soon as they think their interests are at stake, they stand to their guns like men."

But while the Congress is the most prominent outward sign of the ferment working in a large section of Indian society, there are other symptoms hardly less noteworthy of the same leaven. Reference has been made to the "associations" which cover the length and breadth of the land. They are entirely political in their aims and aspirations, and now form a vast connected organization only too ready to hold up the English Government to the hatred and scorn of the people. It was by the machinations of certain of these bodies that the Surat municipality was induced to decline to vote an address of welcome or to grant funds for the reception of Lord Dufferin when he proposed to visit the city in December, 1886. Similar bodies in another part of the country, Eastern Bengal, tried hard to carry out a similar device at Dacca on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit to that town this month, but their tactics were foiled by local Mohammedan influence. Directions have been issued by certain of these associations that Lord Dufferin is, as far as possible, to be boycotted on the occasion of his farewell tour in India; just as direc-

tions were issued four years ago to get up farewell demonstrations in honour of Lord Ripon.

The work of these associations is secret, and comes little before the public. That kindred power, the native press, we have always with us. The English public are beginning to know something of the character of a large section of vernacular journalism,* its ignorance, its venality, its scurrilous attacks on individuals, its seditious tone towards the English Government. It is the latter point which most concerns us here, and a single extract must suffice by way of illustration. It is from a "political novel," entitled, "*Hind † and Britannia*," which appeared in a paper in Guzerat, and was dedicated to Lord Ripon "in commemoration of his illustrious reign." The goddess of Liberty, "gnashing her teeth," addresses Britannia in these words:—

"Do not try thy secret and mysterious guile with me. Thou thinkest that no one can make out the snare of evil thou hast spread. But thy impostures, frauds, plots, cunning, rogueries, art, and designs are very well known to the world at large. . . . When other nations in other places achieved mighty conquests, then, thinking that thou must also make a name, with very ordinary powers of body and mind and in the heat of the ardour of a heart elated with springing blood, thou came towards this poor fallen Hind, and I am fully aware of all the misery that thou inflicted on her in her helpless condition. Thou canst not defend thyself before me. There is no great need for pleading before me thy uncommonly false argument in defence of thy outward garb of purity, thy angel-like sense of duty, and thy philosophy of the nineteenth century (which is in plain words thy trade in foul play and deceit), thy black deeds in commerce, thy heinous crimes, and thy many wicked actions. . . . There is not the slightest reason to doubt that thou became possessed of this land of Hind by deeds of iniquity to serve thy purpose and by establishing a rigorous insulting policy—and this thy work is distressing to think of, is destructive of all manliness, and is a blot on the page of history. Thou made thy advent here under the false pretence of thy outwardly unblemished but

* There are honourable exceptions, of course, but they are unfortunately in a small minority. The "novel" which follows appeared two years ago, and the tone of what may be called the seditious section of the vernacular press has, if possible, grown worse. It is but fair to add that some vernacular papers at once condemned the novel.

† "*Hind*" = Hindustan.

inwardly deceitful trade. . . . Thou camest here at the time of internal dissensions. If thou hadst not come at the time of war and conflict, it would have been simply impossible for thee to enter this land which had saved herself against all comers. . . . The many and various changes thou introduced in this country were merely to suit thy benefits, not to serve the native public. The latter was at no time thy motive, and I do not believe at all that it shall ever be thy motive in the future. . . . Thou subjected them by bewitching their minds by sham displays under the belief that they might place in thee implicit confidence, and that good would be done if they remained good to thee. . . . Thou blinded all by tricks and devices, by conciliations and presents; and thus it is thou couldst boldly advance. Thou gave sanads to certain princes as if they were all thy servants, and thou remained humble, and pleased and presented English articles to all, until thou became all powerful and capable of entrapping, defeating, and punishing the shining lights of the reigning families of this country. But when thou saw that thou wast able to fight any foe, then thou began gradually to emanate them. Thou called them 'unworthy,' 'idiots,' 'incapables,' 'ill-behaved,' &c.—words which thou lackest not in thy store. The more they rose into power and strength the more thou advanced to the other extreme in impudence and shamelessness. In the face of all this, who can be so barefaced, so treacherous, and so fraudulent as thou art. Who can be greater fools than those who allowed thee to rest. . . . Thou hast not carried on in this country a single war by thy own prowess, such as Napoleon did in Italy; and yet no sooner had thou become the supreme queen, goddess of kings, than thou treated them as slaves. . . . Then came the explosion. Those whom thou hadst satisfied by appeasing them with the booty of their own country and who had assisted thee in spite of thy faithlessness and treachery, now burst out. The cup was full and the fire blazed out in full force. The spark of revolt was ignited in Cawnpore, Delhi, and Lucknow, and men of untaught worth shone forth. A gun match is but necessary in blowing up a mine, and it is enough if the applicer of the match be a daring man. . . . That terrible death-like event even now causes thee to tremble. The moment all these brave warriors started they fell on thee in the first blow like vultures falling on a half-dead corpse. . . . But they did not use the tact of obtaining success by awaiting a happy opportunity. . . . neither were their plans ripe nor were their arrangements wise, hence, it need not be said what adverse results must ensue. . . . But at the time no great minds were in existence and this beautiful land . . . was not strong. Then again there was nothing like a national organization at the time. There was no bold and free man who could supply money and arms to the rebels and earn glory by promoting union in those who had come forward to spread consternation in the land. . . . But dost thou remember what thou did after the whole country came again under thy supposed cool shade? Thou canst not forget it. But thou hast grown callous. . . . Thou art become hard-hearted, puffed up by unbounded pride. . . . Hast thou learnt any more lesson in the twenty-three years that have since then elapsed? Not the slightest. Thou hast seen much, known much, suffered much, but hast remained the same as thou wast like a stupid schoolboy. Thou hast neither sense nor knowledge."

There are columns of this, and the conclusion of the matter is thus given :—

"But thou art still fortunate that although the people are vexed by disaffection, their solemn protest has not yet found its vent, or else by this time they would have showed thee something to thy cost. Discontent has not yet taken complete hold of them, and there is yet time to adopt remedies. . . . But afterwards perdition shall feed on whatever armies thou wilt bring. Do not consider the potency of Hind of a mean order. She appears meek and merciful to-day. . . . But she will smash thee when her anger is roused, in which case thou wilt be lowered among the lowest in the world. Rome, Spain, Italy, and Greece are somewhere, but thou shalt be nowhere."

This action of the native newspapers has of late been supplemented by the circulation of a large number of vernacular pamphlets. They deal with various public questions, and their character is much that of the newspapers. The majority of the latter appear to be concerned with the promotion of the agitation for representative institutions. Two of this class have attained a wide notoriety, and upwards of fifty thousand copies are said to have been distributed. They are styled "A Catechism," and "A Conversation between Moulvi Faridudin and Rambaksh"—a small farmer. A brief account of them may be useful. The "Catechism" is in the form of question and answer, and opens thus :—

"Q. Which country is India?

"A. India is only another name for the country that is known to many people as Bhurta Varaha. It extends over a wide area. Its length from north to south is about 1,600 miles, and its breadth from east to west is nearly the same. Its total area is 15 lakhs of square miles. It has a population of about 25 crores and 60 lakhs."

"Q. To whose rule is that country now subject?

"A. This extensive empire of India is now subject to the sovereignty of Englishmen, the natives of a small island to the north-west of Europe. Its area is only about a lakh and a quarter of square miles, and its population only some 3½ crores.

"Q. What enables the people of such a small country to govern this vast empire? What wonder is this?"

The answer is that the English are "UNITED," and, instead of being subjected to a despotic system of govern-

* A crore = 10,000,000; a lakh = 100,000.

ment, enjoy the benefits of representative institutions, advantages which India does not possess. The questioner then asks, "Why they" (the English people) "do not attend to our grievances." The answer is that they have "no conception of all the hardships and disadvantages under which we labour under the existing administration." The Indian officials do not report the facts, "because they do not desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers." "What, then, should we do to obtain justice at their hands?" asks the inquirer; and he is informed that the people of India must agitate to obtain a "Representative Council similar to the Parliament of Great Britain." "No law is to be passed or tax imposed except with the express permission" of this Council. There then follows an exposition of the character and constitution of the Congress, and an explanation that the object of that assembly is to bring about the establishment of such a council. The inquirer is thoroughly convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the movement, promises to collect subscriptions on its behalf, and to explain the matter to all his friends; and sympathizes with the watchword, "Victory to the Congress."

The "Conversation" is an abler written and also a more unwholesome tract.* It takes the form of a friendly chat between a Mohammedan *Vakil* and a petty Hindu farmer. The latter accosts the man of law,—“O Moulvi Sahib,” says he—

“there is a great talk nowadays of ‘representation’ and ‘representative institutions.’ What does it all mean? Last week a Bengali gentleman † was staying at the Serai,‡ and as many of us were sitting talking round the fire at the gateway, he came and began to talk to us. We told him how bad the times were, and how the police bullied us, and how hard the

* I regret to say that the author of the "Conversation" is Mr. A. O. Hume, a retired Government officer, and a strong champion of the Congress. Besides being an advocate of that movement, he is a vegetarian and an "Esoteric Buddhist."

† *I.e.*, one of the paid itinerant agitators of the Congress.

‡ Serai = inn.

Zemindar* and money-lender were, and how everything seemed going wrong. Then he said it was all our own fault, that if we chose to undergo all this and all the trouble that pervaded the country, that was our look out! No one would help us if we did not help ourselves."

These remarks, it appears, were interrupted by the unexpected appearance of an Englishman of the "brutal" type favoured by the vernacular press.† The *Vakil* then expounds the meaning of representative institutions with the aid of an allegory. The village Kambakhtpur ("the city of ill-luck"), where the farmer lives, is the property of an absentee landlord; and near at hand is the village of Shampur ("the city of the sun"), owned by the peasant proprietary who live in it. Now, says he, how does Kambakhtpur thrive? The reply is:—

"There is never a day but what there is some case in court from Kambakhtpur; we are growing poorer and poorer; land is going out of cultivation; we have scarcely oxen enough to plough what we still till. Look down the street; why, the houses are half of them nearly in ruins, and the two liquor-shops that the Government has set up here are always full. Even this platform, built by our forefathers, and so much needed for our meetings and our guests, is now in ruins. Look at Shampur; it is twice as populous as this village, and yet there is no liquor-shop there, and the landlords say there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed! Of all the miserable places in the district Kambakhtpur is nearly one of the worst."

As for the absentee landlord—

"So far as any good to us is concerned he might be dead; but for all that he must have his money, and almost every year more money and more money, till we poor people are almost skin and bone. Ah! if we were only cattle, as the *Sahib* said, we might perhaps make a rupee or two out of our skins; it is about all we have left."

The landlord's agents are a mercenary and tyrannical set,‡ who never consult the people, but bully them, saying,

* Zemindar = landlord.

† The complaints of the natives against the disgusting manner towards them of the low-class Europeans and Eurasians are unhappily only too often quite justifiable. The vernacular press, however, makes too much of the matter, inasmuch as the behaviour of natives of a similar social standing towards each other is just as gross, generally worse.

‡ There is one exception, "our dear old Rai Saccharam," an allegorical figure that typifies the Marquis of Ripon.

"What do you know, you cattle folk? Hold your tongues! Do this! Do that!" The farmer's eyes are opened, and he perceives that by Kambakhtpur, India is typified, and that all its sorrows, like those of that unhappy village, are due to the existence of a despotic government. He says—

"I now see what you mean, and I suppose our Government is what you call a 'despotic' one, and that, perhaps, is why the whole country now is discontented (it never was so when I was a boy), and why everything seems, from what I hear, to be going wrong, and why the Government Land Tax is always being raised, and new taxes are being imposed."

It is explained to him that the remedy for these evils lies in the success of the Congress, and the farmer goes off promising to do what he can to support that movement, and to get his friends to join.*

Besides the "association," the newspaper, and the pamphlet, the present political movement in India has developed another means of popular agitation in the paid itinerant

* In the course of the conversation, the following illustration is given of the ways of the Anglo-Indian official:—

"You see his camp came to our village. That old villain, Murtezar Shah (whom you, praise be to God, got transported four years ago in that torture case), was Tehsildar (head of the subdivision). When the Sahib rode in about ten o'clock, his people complained that there was no grass for the horses. I was standing near. He shouted out, 'Where is the Tehsildar?' The Tehsildar came trembling. 'Protector of the poor,' he said, 'it is no fault of mine; it is those blackguards, whom I instructed to have every requisite, and who assured my people that all was ready.' 'Who did you make answerable for the grass?' said the collector. 'This man,' said the Tehsildar, seizing me by the arm. 'Oh!' said the Sahib, striking me with his whip, 'you are the son of a pig, a bastard. I'll teach you how to attend to orders. Here! tie him up and give him thirty lashes, and lay it well on.' Now the Tehsildar had never spoken a word to me about the matter. It was the year of the drought, and there was not a particle of grass in the place; many of our cattle had died. I tried to explain this, but the Sahib hit me over the mouth and face with his whip, shouting out, 'Hold your tongue. I'll teach you, tie him up, tie him up, flog his life out,' and I was dragged away and flogged till I became insensible. It was a month before I could walk."

The pamphlet adds that there are other Anglo-Indian officers who, "if not quite so bad as this Mr. Zubberdust (*i.e.*, Mr. Bully), nevertheless exist in great numbers, abusing their official powers, and 'guilty of most unjustifiable acts of high-handedness.'"

lecturer. It has been ascertained that some of these men have been informing peasant audiences that, if the Congress succeeds in its aims, all their taxes will be abolished. One of these wandering agitators, Ali Mohammed Bhimji,* lately made a tour of Northern India. This man has experienced a varied career. As a clerk to three different native merchants in Bombay, he visited China and England, and, there is reason to believe, Russia also. He then set up as a soda-water manufacturer, but became insolvent. We next get a glimpse of him in certain native states, but apparently his occupation there, whatever it was, did not turn out profitably, for he returned to Bombay, and was out of employment for some time. His next venture was as a rice merchant in Calcutta, but here too he failed. He was then employed successively as a stevedore in Rangoon, as a clerk to a firm of solicitors in Bombay, as manager of a ginning factory in Kattywar (which failed), as a purser on board a steamer owned by a native firm in Bombay, and, lastly, as manager of a cotton factory in Indore. He is now one of the salaried lecturers of the Congress, and, as such, was lately sent to gain over the Mohammedans of Northern India, an undertaking which had the unexpected result of calling forth Anti-Congress meetings from that community in nearly every town visited by him.

Among other devices adopted by Mr. Bhimji was an assurance given by him to a Mohammedan meeting at Ludhiana, and probably elsewhere, that, if the Mussulman community supported the Congress, that assembly would take care that the Holy Cities of Islam were properly guarded and looked after for the pilgrimage of the faithful.

The foregoing remarks will, I trust, have brought

* At one of his meetings at Lahore Mr. Bhimji's natural modesty found expression in these words, "As for me," he said, "like the great poet Wordsworth—

" 'The moving accident is not my trade;
To stir the blood I have no ready arts,
'Tis my delight, alone in summer's shade,
To pipe a simple lay for thinking hearts.' "

home to the conviction of the reader that India is the scene of a widespread, and, in many respects unscrupulous, political agitation. The leaders of the movement are profuse in their professions of loyalty to the British Government, and there can be no doubt that, with a few exceptions, they are in a measure perfectly sincere, perceiving clearly enough, as they must, that the peaceful continuance of British rule in India is a necessity for them. Nevertheless, we find the agitation actively engaged, in the words of Sir Auckland Colvin, "in forcing on the people a hideous caricature of British rule," a "terrible and unrelieved picture of a starving, oppressed, and brutalized India, groaning under an unsympathetic and oppressive rule." "Of the India of to-day, as we know it," to continue in the words of the same authority—

"Of India under education; of India compelled, in the interests of the weaker masses, to submit to impartial justice; of India brought together by road and rail; of India entering into the first-class commercial markets of the world; of India of religious toleration; of India assured, for terms of years unknown in less fortunate Europe, of profound and unbroken peace; of India of the free Press; of India, finally, taught for the first time that the end and aim of rule is the welfare of the people and not the personal aggrandisement of the Sovereign"—

there is not a syllable of recognition.

The divergence between the professions of the leaders of the movement and the propaganda with which they are connected, supports the suspicion, for the acceptance of which there are also other reasons, that they are the chiefs only in name, and that the real direction of the agitation is passing from them into the hands of men more daring and less scrupulous, men who are actuated by a seditious feeling against the Government, or by the passions of a base vanity and a criminal love of mischief. Those native gentlemen of intelligence and position who had been induced, in an evil hour, for their own interests and reputations, to join the movement, would do well to exert their influence in checking its development on the lines on which it is advancing. They surely must be aware that the continued circulation

among an ignorant and excitable people of the accusations now being scattered broadcast throughout the land by newspapers, associations, pamphlets, and itinerant agitators of the type described in this article may prove a source of grave embarrassment to the country and the Government.

As regards the attitude of the latter authority towards the movement, I think it will be generally admitted in India by well-wishers of British rule in that land, that a policy of close reserve and affected indifference is inadequate to the occasion. Loyalty is still a living factor in Asiatic politics. Many years of peacefully established government have dimmed the meaning of the word to Englishmen at home. In 1715 and 1745 our forefathers had a more lively sense of what it implied. The sentiment is still in active force in the East, and its meaning and value are there more fully understood. But what do the loyal natives of India find? They see that the Government is, apparently, as coldly indifferent to them, as to the most seditious agitator; with their great knowledge of the undercurrent of native society they have perceived and have warned the authorities that the present agitation is proceeding to dangerous lengths; but the Government makes no sign, except, indeed, that it invites the members of the Congress to garden parties, a proceeding which hopelessly puzzles the loyal native mind. The truth of the matter, as regards the Congress, would seem to be that the Government, in its extreme and constant anxiety for accurate information on the aims and aspirations of native society, saw in the earlier Congresses a channel through which such knowledge might be acquired. Now, however, that the Congress has connected itself with the men and methods of the stamp indicated in these pages, I suspect, that it cannot fail to prove a source of embarrassment to an authority situated as is the Government of India. Circumstances may, possibly, compel the Government to put some check on the complete liberty of political organization which the country now possesses, a liberty which even in

England dates only from very recent times. Meanwhile much good would, probably, result if it showed a more active sympathy towards the encouragement of the sentiments of loyalty. To shine with equal favour on the just and the unjust is the prerogative of the celestial bodies. The practice is liable to be attended by inconvenience when followed by terrestrial luminaries.

I may add that the facts herein recorded, and many more relating to the matter dealt with, are well known to many who are prevented by reason of their official position, from giving them publicity. Not being an officer of Government, I have been able to write with greater freedom, though I trust with no less a sense of responsibility.

AUSTIN RATTRAY.

SIMLA, *November 19, 1888.*

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

DURING the quarter which has just closed, the Marquis of Dufferin, who has obtained a well-deserved step in the peerage for his brilliant public services in India and elsewhere, and also in special commemoration of the annexation of Burmah, brought his Viceroyalty to an end, after four years' residence in the country where his administration will long be remembered. Before leaving India, Lord Dufferin, who may have felt the silence, imposed more by official caution than natural inclination, he had kept for over three years irksome, delivered a succession of speeches which posterity will consider a more important and valuable contribution to the task of Indian Government than any of his acts of administration. It would almost seem from them as if Lord Dufferin had been engaged in listening for four years to the different opinions offered him on all the burning questions and intricate problems affecting the welfare of India and her people, and weighing in the balances the *pros* and *cons* for change or resistance to innovation before he felt competent to express a strong decision in favour of one side or the other. He has now spoken with perfect frankness, impartiality, and admirable decisiveness. We regret that Lord Dufferin, when he went to India, did not enunciate for his own guidance the admirable texts and the unimpeachable truths which at the eleventh hour he has clothed in graceful language for the benefit of his successor. Lord Dufferin would no doubt say that he had first to study India and her society before declaring that he was bound, as the exponent of British power, to limit the political horizon, lit up with

impossible hopes and unreasonable demands, of what is called New India, and to declare his astonishment that "any reasonable man could imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control the administration of that majestic and multiform Empire, for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before the face of civilization!" We may at least express the hope that all Lord Dufferin's successors will adopt his experience as their own, and that they will not delay till the end of their administration a formal and emphatic declaration against an agitation which is both treasonable and impracticable.

Lord Dufferin's tenure of power closes with some gratifying if minor successes. The success of the Black Mountain campaign is unqualified, and by the adoption of some simple precautions, among which we must give our cordial support to the suggestion in an Indian paper of employing two or three armoured river steamers on the Upper Indus, we may hope for peace and gradually extended influence in that quarter. There cannot be any doubt of the result of the Sikhim campaign from the practical victory of our arms against Tibet, and the arrival of the Chinese ambamban on the frontier shows that the authority of China has at last asserted itself over priestly intolerance. We know that the influence of Pekin will be exercised in behalf of a good understanding and pacific relations with England. The only other cloud on the frontier has been magnified by the resolution to ignore it. The decision not to send a primitive expedition against the Shenduns, has hardly been arrived at before we hear that a fresh raid has been made into Chittagong, in which twenty British subjects lost their lives. There, too, we shall have to show our power and inflict punishment.

But that, after all, is a small legacy of trouble and disturbance to leave an inheritor, and Lord Lansdowne, who is not less likely than Lord Mayo to surprise India and his own countrymen in his new post of enlarged

responsibility and publicity, is fortunate in taking up the reins of power at a time of such little trouble and so few entanglements. His greatest opportunity is in regard to the establishment of cordial relations with China on the Himalayan and Burmese frontiers. The time has arrived when it is essential, in the interests of both Empires, that all doubts should be cleared up, and that their cordiality should be demonstrated by the harmony of their relations on the borders they hold in common. Another great question that must not be neglected is the arrangement with the native States as to the employment of their armies. Lord Dufferin has already announced the principle which will be observed in the solution of what is undoubtedly a difficult problem. A portion of the armies of the native States will be specially trained with the co-operation of the Supreme Government, and, on attaining a certain degree of efficiency, will be assigned a due place in the defence of India. This is the practical outcome of the Nizam's celebrated offer in 1887 to contribute sixty lakhs to the expenditure on Frontier Defence, and all that need be said is that it depends on the energy of the chiefs themselves, and on the good sense of the paramount Power, whether the result will be commensurate with reasonable expectations and speedily attained.

Affairs in Afghanistan and Central Asia are likely to attract quite as much notice under the new Viceroy as they did under the old. So important a step as the despatch of an English mission to Cabul, postponed for the temporary and now no longer applicable reason of the revolt in Turkestan, cannot be permanently withdrawn without casting an apparent reflection on the stability of the alliance between England and Afghanistan. It may be anticipated with some degree of confidence that the proposal will be revived in the spring or autumn of the present year, and it may be hoped that the mission will result in the improvement of our means of obtaining information from both Turkestan and Herat. Another advantage would arise

from the increased military employment of the frontier tribes, some of whom have already rendered such excellent service in the corps known as the Khyber Rifles, both in the famous Pass of that name and during the recent Black Mountain campaign.

Of deaths during the past quarter, the only celebrated figure in Asiatic affairs to disappear has been the great and accomplished Russian traveller and explorer, General Przjalsky. In him Russia has experienced an irreparable loss. He was not less remarkable as a man of science—he was a botanist, geologist, chemist, and astronomer—than as an intrepid explorer. He had also views on the subject of Russia's expansion in Asia not less strong than those of the late General Skobeleff, although China, and not England, was to suffer from their realization. Great as were his geographical achievements, it cannot be denied that his death removes a possible author of war in Central Asia. In Mr. William George Pedder we have lost a valued contributor. Although his literary efforts were few, and made at the close of his career when his health was broken, he always seemed to us to wield one of the best pens among Anglo-Indian civilians.

REVIEWS.

A French Critic on India.

PROFESSOR DARMESTETER has written a most charming book on India in his "*Lettres sur l'Inde*." (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 27, Passage Choiseul.) We frankly admit that we never read an English work on India which gave us quite the same literary treat as these fragmentary epistles of the French professor from Peshawur and elsewhere, and we say this with a keen perception that one of his most flowery and

attractive metaphors is borrowed without acknowledgment from Sir Lepel Griffin, and that his account of the Ameer's life is taken, also without reference, from an article in *The Times* three years ago. With so *spirituel* a writer as Professor Darmesteter such trivial blemishes must count for little; nor should we expect strict accuracy of fact. There is nothing surprising in his confounding the exact relationship of the princes of Afghanistan, *e.g.*, when he calls Mahmoud the uncle instead of the brother of Shah Shuja. The merit of Professor Darmesteter's work is that he gives from an intelligible standpoint a graphic and comprehensive description of English rule in India, its benefits and drawbacks, its security and perils; and whether we accept it as accurate or not, we cannot help admitting that it is plausibly told, and conveyed in language far removed from the average Anglo-Indian composition. The cursory reader will pronounce Professor Darmesteter a eulogist of the English system and of our achievements, but between the lines may be detected the championing of more than one doubtful theory and the adoption of several inaccurate assertions. We are pronounced to be entirely wanting in sympathy, at the same time that we are told that Russia represents "the unknown." Professor Darmesteter will scarcely believe us serious if we say that we know Russia very well, and that Alma taught us and Russians also the limitations of the Czar's best troops. The learned professor has also caught hold of the theory suggested by an English writer, that if Dupleix had been supported by his own Government, France and not England would have been the lord of Hindostan; and we are prompted to ask the question, Does the author or any one else suppose that any foreign nation could have held India without such an undisputed command of the sea as we have possessed for a hundred years? We prefer to insist on the merits of the volume instead of dwelling on its shortcomings. We cordially recommend its perusal to all Anglo-Indians as a most charmingly written book, and as one likely to give us a new insight into the

people and country, even where we most disagree with the writer and think that he has formed his conclusions on insufficient or misleading data.

Broadfoot of Jellalabad.

No more valuable book has ever been published on the first Afghan war than this biography of one of its foremost heroes. ["The Career of Major George Broadfoot, C.B., in Afghanistan and the Punjab," compiled by Major W. BROADFOOT, R.E. (London: John Murray).] It throws a flood of light on the secret history of the Cabul disaster, of the gallant defence of Jellalabad, and of the subsequent operations under Pollock and Nott. More than one reputation suffers, although Major Broadfoot's comments are evidently prompted by zeal for the public interest and not by personal bias; but historical truth is much the gainer by the engineer officer's open and unqualifying criticism. The claim of Major Broadfoot to be regarded as the man who really saved Jellalabad, and prevented that "illustrious garrison" from coming to ignominious terms with a perfidious enemy whom only an unworthy panic had rendered formidable, although never seriously disputed, is established on the clearest and quite unimpeachable grounds by the full account given in this volume of the Councils of War held at Jellalabad. The part which Broadfoot took in them, at first single-handed against the whole of the other members, and throughout with only the staunch support of Captains Oldfield and Havelock (the latter not having a vote), amply justifies the conviction expressed by Havelock to one of the Cabul captives—none other than Eldred Pottinger, the defender of Herat—that if Broadfoot had been at Cabul he would have saved it. The defence of Jellalabad was, however, only one of the services rendered by Broadfoot during the war. Both during the retirement to that place and the subsequent advance of Pollock's avenging army to Cabul, he and the wild sappers whom he had raised and

disciplined were always at the point of greatest danger, whether defending the rear or leading the attack. It is strange to find how often his name was omitted from despatches, and that sometimes the credit due to his corps was awarded to others. His merit, however, was too conspicuous to be concealed, and Lord Ellenborough deserves praise for having marked out the ablest officer produced by the first Afghan war for special favour and reward. Of his subsequent services in Tenasserim and on the North-West Frontier a full and interesting account is given in this work, but our limited space leaves us no opportunity of referring to them. Too soon for the interests of his country, and for the full consummation of his own fame, Major Broadfoot met a soldier's death on the field of Firozeshah, the second battle of the first Sikh war. The biography which Major William Broadfoot has compiled, and which is composed of such interesting materials, will stand as a permanent monument to the work and valour of Broadfoot of Jellalabad, whose most famous contemporaries considered him the "foremost man in India."

Sir Charles Macgregor.

AMONG Anglo-Indian soldiers of the present day, none had gained a higher reputation than Sir Charles Macgregor, and his death last year cut short a career which seemed destined to become one of increased fame to himself and service to his country. Lady Macgregor has completed a very full and interesting account of the varied career of her late husband in these two volumes [*"The Life and Opinions of Major-General Sir Charles Metcalfe Macgregor, K.C.B."* (W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.)], and they should be read by every Englishman who has the least desire to know the facts connected with most of our important wars and expeditions during the last thirty years. Sir Charles Macgregor's war services read as follows—

the Indian Mutiny, the China war, the Bhutan campaign, the Abyssinian expedition, the second Afghan war, and the Mari expedition. To these services in the field must be added the not less material services he rendered his country by exploring tours in Persia, Beloochistan, and Afghanistan, the results of which are embodied in several interesting and valuable books of travel, and in confidential Reports which found their most forcible expression in his celebrated "Defence of India." Sir Charles Macgregor was one of the ablest and most energetic of the advocates of an advanced policy in Afghanistan. His policy *vis-à-vis* with Russia would have been the bold and, as we hold, the wise one of anticipating danger at Merv instead of waiting for it at even Candahar. As far back as 1863, when quite young, although experienced in war, he wrote, "Depend upon it, some day will see a British army at Herat." The prophecy formed a key-note to his subsequent opinions; and although it has not been fulfilled, the time may still come when his prescience will be justified. We cordially recommend these volumes as a faithful and graphic memorial of an English officer who served his country and sovereign for thirty years in India and the East, and who left an immense mass of information and advice to enable his countrymen to deal with the great and ever approaching danger which can alone shake their supremacy in Southern Asia.

A French Traveller in Central Asia.

M. BONVALOT'S account of his adventurous and laborious journey across the Pamir, from Central Asia into India, has strong claims upon the attention of the English, and particularly the Anglo-Indian, reading public. ["Du Caucase aux Indes à travers le Pamir, ouvrage orné de 250 dessins et croquis per Albert Pepin avec une carte itinéraire du voyage." (Paris: Librairie Plon).] The interest of the work as containing a fresh description of Russian Central

Asia is well sustained throughout, but its exceptional merit commences with the decision to reach India by the way of the Pamir. The French travellers, who had originally contemplated making a promenade through Afghanistan, were politely escorted back to Bokharan territory by the Afghan authorities after they had reached the southern side of the Oxus; and as they could not overcome the opposition of the Ameer, they hoped to fare better in their struggle with the natural obstacles of the thinly populated region between Ferghana and Cashmere. They were mainly induced to make this attempt by the encouragement of General Karalkoff, who addressed to them the following very significant remarks: "Why not attempt to reach India by Kashgar, or even by the Pamir? No attempt has been made to explore the latter in winter; the enterprise is considered impossible, but who knows? It might perhaps be attempted." From those lines to the end of the volume, M. Bonvalot's narrative deserves and should receive the most careful consideration at the hands of every responsible official in India, for it gives the best, and for the greater part of the route the only, account of a journey from Margilan to Gilgit *via* Taldik, Kizil Yart, the mountain lakes Kara and Rang Kuls, Sarhad and the Baroghil pass. The passage of the Alai plateau is described in detail, and with much graphic power—in March there was nothing but snow in which men sank to their waists, making the guides call out *barambar*, "it is everywhere." M. Pepin's sketches and photographs give additional point to his companion's written description, and we can well imagine that most readers will rise from this book with the conviction that to talk of a Russian army crossing the Pamir is an absurdity. We will only suggest, as a necessary qualification, that for this response to be accepted as literally true and applicable the attempted passage must be made by M. Bonvalot's route, and in the month of March. Arrived south of the Hindoo Koosh, the French travellers were detained in Chitral by order of the chief Amin ul Mulk,

and only released after a detention of six weeks on the intervention of the Government of India. They have amply repaid that slight service, which moreover they so fully acknowledge, by this interesting narrative of their adventurous and remarkable journey across the Pamir. Both for its literary merits and for the subject with which it deals, it must long hold a prominent place among standard works on Central Asia.

We have also to acknowledge an extremely handsome English edition of this valuable work, in two volumes, from Messrs. Chapman and Hall, of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. The translation is made by Mr. C. B. PITMAN, and seems to be everything that could be desired, while the English book possesses at least one distinct advantage over the French in the superiority of its binding.

The Persian Book of Love.

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD has added another attractive and melodious volume to his many previous contributions to Indian song. "With Sadi in the Garden" (Trubner and Co.) is a worthy companion to "Pearls of the Faith" and "Lotus and Jewel." It tells the story of love from the third chapter of the Bostan of the Persian poet Sadi. As the poem is embodied in a dialogue held in the garden of the Taj Mahal at Agra, Sir Edwin appropriately commences with an elaborate description of that famous monument, perhaps the most famous, and certainly the most beautiful, memorial erected as a tribute of Love in any land. The dialogue is sustained by four characters—an English sahib, who can only be the accomplished writer himself, a mirza, and two singing girls named Gulbadan and Dilazar; and although the translation of Sadi's verses forms a connecting link and text throughout the volume, the bulk of the work consists of original appropriate and picturesque poetry composed by Sir Edwin himself. Some of the songs he puts into the mouths of the singing girls, such as the rain-

drop which became a pearl of great price and "the song without a sound," are as prettily conceived and expressed as anything to be found in modern literature, while the incident of Lakshmi serves to show how closely love is connected with tragedy in all climes. Sir Edwin Arnold has written a volume which should be read, and which is certainly above criticism.

A College History of India.

MR. TALBOYS WHEELER'S "College History of India" (Macmillan and Co.) is an abbreviation of his well-known "Short History of India," and it is intended mainly for students and junior scholars. It seems to us that Mr. Wheeler has hit off very accurately the leading features of Indian history both Asiatic and European—to adopt the very definite distinction of his title-page—and that the general reader will have no difficulty in following the main thread of the political fortunes of the peninsula, whether under its Hindoo, Mahomedan, or English masters. The arrangement throughout is excellent, whether regard be paid to the ethnological or the geographical divisions of the country, or to its administrative changes and condition. Mr. Wheeler has spared no pains to make the contents of his volume accessible to even the cursory student, and for purposes of reference it is both handy and convenient. We have detected no clerical errors, and altogether we can recommend this College History as one of the most useful text books that have yet issued from the English press.

The Mongols.

MR. H. H. HOWORTH has extended his elaborate and exhaustive history of "The Mongols" (Longmans and Co.), so as to embrace the deeds of Khulagu Khan and his descendants in Persia, and he has in this way contributed a really interesting, if in form somewhat repellent, volume to the few standard works on Asiatic history. The

Mongols of Persia played a less important part in the formation of Asiatic history than any other branch of the family of Genghis Khan; yet Mr. Howorth has been able to fill nearly 800 pages about them. This is a creditable testimonial to his industry and powers of research. Whether he will obtain the reward he has laboured so hard to deserve is another matter, and yet if we calmly consider the work achieved by the Mongols in Eastern, Central, and Western Asia, as well as in India, we cannot resist the conclusion that they are almost as much deserving of an elaborate history as the Romans, Greeks, and Chinese. It would be impossible for us within our limited space to follow in any detail the contents of the present volume. We can only say that it is in all essential points a worthy continuation of the earlier volumes which gave Mr. Howorth among us the position held by D'Ohsson and De Guignes abroad.

Persia.

We cannot compliment Mr. Benjamin on his book, nor can we say that his account of Persia is a worthy addition to the admirable volumes that have so far made up the series known as "The Story of the Nations." ["Persia." By S. G. BENJAMIN, late United States Minister to Persia. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] It seems to us that Mr. Benjamin's work does not harmonize at all with the intended scope of that series. The title of the work is certainly a misnomer, for the history of Persia during the last twelve hundred years is disposed of in ten pages. Nor is there the least attempt to deal with the very interesting problem of the present condition and near prospects of the Shah's kingdom. Mr. Benjamin's narrative is, in fact, an essay of some length on the early history of Persia from the period of tradition, to which Mr. Benjamin courageously renders his tribute of credence, to the battle of Nehavend in 641. Neither in style nor in information is there much to attract the English reader, who can find both in the pages of

Malcolm, Rawlinson, and other writers on the Persian Empire, past and present.

Rig Veda Sanhita.

MR. WEBSTER has brought out the sixth volume of Mr. H. H. Wilson's translation of the ancient Hindu hymns classified under the comprehensive and well-known name of the Rig Veda (published by Trübner and Co.). Professor Wilson's work involved at the time that he made his translation an amount of labour which established his claims to the gratitude of all scientific inquirers into the early religion and language of the Aryan races. Mr. Webster makes full acknowledgment to subsequent workers in the same field like the German scholars Ludwig and Grassmann, but the translation of the Rig Veda remains substantially as it left the hands of the English professor.

African Exploration.

UNDER the title of "The Unknown Horn of Africa" (George Philip and Son, 32, Fleet Street), Mr. F. L. James, well known by his work on "The Wild Tribes of the Soudan," gives an interesting account of African Exploration from Berbera to the Leopard River. The work is in other words a detailed description of Somaliland, in which the Government of India has practical interests both on account of its port of Berbera, and because it may one day provide the best and most available route to the Upper Nile region. Readers of the previous work of Mr. James will not need to be told that there is sure to be a spice of adventure and startling incident in his pages. The principal encounter with a tribe which demanded blackmail was a bloodless one, as the warriors fled incontinently at the continued volleys fired in the air from the sporting and other guns of the expedition. Mr. James has given a graphic account of his journey from Berbera to Mogadoxo, and the

numerous illustrations serve to give enhanced interest to what is really a valuable book of African travel.

Kaye and Malleeson's History.

MESSRS. ALLEN & CO. have issued the first two volumes of a new cabinet, or, as the editor calls it, consolidated edition of the standard "History of the Indian Mutiny," by the late Sir JOHN KAYE and Colonel MALLESON. Colonel Malleeson edits the present edition, which so far as Sir John Kaye's first two volumes is left intact, but which in the last three volumes by the editor are to be revised in a manner that he says will prove that "the severest critic of a work may be its author." The sixth volume will be Mr. Pincott's carefully prepared index of subjects. Of the present edition as a whole, we may say that it is likely to gain a fresh circle of readers for what is really a great monument of historical research and description.

The Indian Mutiny.

AMONG the works relating to the great struggle of the Indian Mutiny, Mr. T. R. E. Holmes's History is entitled to an honourable place. The new revised library edition just brought out by the well-known Indian publishing house of W. H. Allen and Co. will therefore be welcomed by those who desire to have on their bookshelves a convenient and generally trustworthy text-book about one of the most important and exciting periods of Indian history. In noticing the appearance of this new edition, it is not necessary for us to analyze the merits of Mr. Holmes's work, which has fairly gained its place among standard Anglo-Indian books. We need only say that with the exception of the larger history of Kaye and Malleeson the reader cannot do better than consult Mr. Holmes for the tragic events of 1857.

Typical Races of Mankind.

THE twelve plates and accompanying letterpress which compose this volume are an English rendering, under the direction of Messrs. George Philip and Son, of 32, Fleet-street, London, of a well-known German work depicting the typical races of mankind. Four Asiatic races, the Arab, the Chinese, the Indian and the Japanese, are included, and both the illustrations and the descriptions aim at the double object of instructing and popularizing the subject with the youthful reader. We gladly bear testimony to the fact that the different chapters are written with a due appreciation of the relative importance of the branches of the subject treated, and with shrewd discrimination of the salient characteristics of the races and nationalities described.

Lives of Indian Officers.

MESSRS. ALLEN AND CO., of 13, Waterloo Place, S.W., have published a new edition of the late Sir John Kaye's "*Lives of Indian Officers.*" The chief lives in the first volume are those of Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Charles Metcalfe. They are standard biographies, and the new edition will be welcome. We may express the wish that Messrs. Allen will provide an index with Vol. II. : the first volume does not contain even a list of contents.

Distinguished Anglo-Indians.

ENCOURAGED by the reception of his first volume, Colonel Laurie has published a second series of "*Sketches of Distinguished Anglo-Indians*" (W. H. Allen and Co.). These vary both in regard to the distinction of the individuals treated, and to the merit of the sketches themselves. There is no necessity to apply too keen a criticism to a work of this description. Colonel Laurie has compiled it with

evidently the very best intentions, and it will certainly serve many useful purposes as a book of reference.

The Anglo-Indian Codes.

WE need not do more than notice the fact of the publication of the second and concluding volume of Mr. Whitley Stokes's admirable work on the Anglo-Indian Codes. ["The Anglo-Indian Codes," edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L. Vol. II., "Adjective Law." (Oxford and London: The Clarendon Press).] It formed the subject of an excellent article contributed by Mr. John D. Mayne to this Review in October, 1887.

Official Tours in Madras.

WE have received from India the account of the seventh tour of Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, through Malabar, South Canara, Goa, Bellary, Cuddapah, North Arcot, and Nellore. Part of this tour was in the Presidency of Bombay, and one of the chief places of interest visited was the Portuguese settlement at Goa. The narrative under notice is written not by Lord Connemara, but by his secretary, Mr. J. D. Rees.

Minor Notices.

WE have only space to acknowledge the receipt of a new edition of Colonel MALLESON'S excellent and stirringly written "Decisive Battles of India," and a popular edition of Mr. C. MARVIN'S "Region of the Eternal Fire"—both published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., of Waterloo Place.

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Asiatic Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1889.

THE P. AND O. COMPANY.

AMONG British institutions connected with Asia, and forming part of the commercial supremacy of this country from Arabia to Japan, there is none that has done better work or is more worthy of grateful recognition than the corporation which is familiarly known by the appellation of the P. and O. Company. For fifty years and more the steamers of this Company have performed an ever-increasing part in the maintenance of postal and passenger communication between England and India and China, until at last they have obtained a major share in that traffic, and their name has become familiar as a household word to the traveller and sojourner in the East. An ungrateful or forgetful public requires to be reminded occasionally of the services of those who minister to its needs, and without any derogation to its dignity or surrender of modesty, the Company has taken advantage of its jubilee to place on record, in the compact form of a Pocket Book, a history of its rise to the present proud position it has reached by its own unaided efforts as the premier steamship-owning corporation of the world. The work is of varied and exceptional interest. Mr.

Thomas Sutherland, the Chairman of the Company, is the principal contributor to the volume, and it is to his account of the Company, and of the construction of the Suez Canal, that reference will be exclusively made in this paper. At the same time it may be pointed out that he has secured the aid of such distinguished collaborateurs as M. de Lesseps, Sir Edwin Arnold, and Sir Thomas Wade in other parts of the work which also contains maps and statistical tables of special and general use. As a *vade mecum* for the traveller in India and China, the volume is as essential as Murray or Baedeker is to the European tourist.

Unlike the East India Company, which set out with a programme as vast and comprehensive as British power and trade have now accomplished after the lapse of nearly three centuries, the P. and O. Company had a very small and modest beginning. It did not spring, Phoenix-like, into sudden prominence and popularity on the strength of a state subsidy as some of its Continental rivals have done. Its growth and development during the first twenty years of its life were slow and even uncertain. Its subsequent career has been marked by many difficulties successfully overcome, and by more than one victory snatched at the last moment from defeat. The conditions of its existence have been altered by three radical changes affecting trans-oceanic locomotion almost to the extent of a revolution. They were the change of route caused by the opening of the Suez Canal, the increased size of the steamers demanded by the nature of the traffic, and the fall in freights through international competition, and rendered possible by the economy in fuel effected by the introduction of the compound engine. To each and all of these changes the Company had to, and did, accommodate itself. In meeting and overcoming these difficulties it received neither practical aid nor sympathy from the Government, which on political grounds resented, and for a brief space endeavoured to ignore, the completion of the Suez Canal. The fatuous insistence by our Government that the mails should be conveyed overland from

Alexandria to Suez brought the Company, as Mr. Sutherland says, to the verge of ruin, and if it had not discovered a way of preserving its own interests, and at the same time observing the letter, as arbitrarily defined by the Government, of its postal contract, there seems no reason to doubt that its career would have been brought to an abrupt and disastrous conclusion. The present prosperity and assured position of the Company are due to the pertinacity and pluck exhibited by its directors under great difficulties, and in more than one crisis of its existence, as well as to the wise policy which dictated that facts should be fairly faced and not shirked, and that we must adapt ourselves to circumstances even when they are disagreeable.

The origin of the P. and O. Company is stated to have been the steamers which a firm of shipbrokers in the city of London, Messrs. Willcox and Anderson, began to run in 1835 to the ports of the Iberian peninsula. Their regularity attracted general attention, and after the Post Office had hesitated for some time to supersede the old Government sailing packets, the first mail contract was given in 1837 to a syndicate composed of the firm named, and of Captain Richard Bourne, conveyer of the Irish mails. The syndicate became the Peninsular Company, and in return for an annual subsidy of £29,600, undertook to run a monthly steamer from Falmouth to Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. The paddle steamship, *William Fawcett*, of little more than two hundred tons, was the first vessel engaged in this work, and the mention of its tonnage suffices to show the wide distance separating it from the present leviathans of over six thousand tons. The success which attended the institution of a regular mail to Gibraltar, and which was beneficial alike to the Government and the public, induced the authorities to consider schemes for the extension of steam service to Egypt. The Peninsular Company obtained this further contract in 1839, not, however, because it had earned a claim on the gratitude of the Government by the

regularity with which it had discharged its task as far as Gibraltar, but simply because after a public competition its tender proved to be the lowest. For the service between England and Alexandria two large vessels, the *Great Liverpool* and *Oriental*, of 1,300 and 1,700 tons respectively, were specially constructed and began running early in 1840.

Having thus established a line of steamers conveying mails and passengers regularly and with despatch as far as Egypt, which even then was regarded as the half-way house to India, it was only natural that bolder and wider projects for accomplishing on the further side of the Isthmus of Suez what had been done on the near side should begin to be entertained by the Peninsular Company. The first and immediate consequence of this new scheme was that the Peninsular Company applied for a Charter of Incorporation under the new and more ambitious title of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, but it was only granted on the stipulation that steam communication should be established with India within two years from the date of the charter, viz., December, 1840. How onerous and almost unfair that condition was may be inferred from the fact that the Company had then no steamers in the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean, and that the East India Company regarded with considerable jealousy any attempt to poach on what it considered as its domain. The full extent of the favour accorded by that august Company to this young enterprise was that it promised "to pay premiums on a certain number of voyages accomplished in the course of a year, of which the total amount was not to exceed £20,000 per annum." When the P. and O. Company undertook on the guarantee of such a slender reward to build new vessels and institute an entirely fresh service in Asiatic waters, it must have based its expectations mainly on the appreciation of the general public and the mercantile community. It exhibited sound judgment in measuring the requirements and growing needs of one of the great trade routes of the world, and its

subsequent development and present prosperity are but the natural and inevitable consequences of its having seized, or rather anticipated, the favourable opportunity created by the rapid increase of British trade with India, China, and the Antipodes.

The history of the P. and O. Company, properly speaking, begins, therefore, at the end of 1840, when the wars in Afghanistan and China were in full progress, and when events at Cabul, Candahar, and Canton attracted as much attention as the imperfect postal and telegraphic means of communication allowed. Within the specified period the new vessels were plying in the Red Sea, and keeping up communications between Suez on the one side, and Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta on the other. It will be noted that Bombay is not mentioned, and on the valid ground that it was omitted in the arrangement with the East India Company, which for reasons of its own clung tenaciously to the monopoly of communication with the great port of Western India. The P. and O. Company does not seem to have realized the full force of this opposition, for it made a proposition in 1843 that it should be allowed to run monthly steamers from Suez to Bombay under contract, but at a saving of £30,000 a year. That suggestion was summarily rejected, and it was not until ten years later that the East India Company waived its exclusive pretensions on the subject of Bombay. The opening of some of the Treaty Ports in China by the Treaty of Nankin, and the acquisition of Hongkong fortunately occurred at this juncture, and rendered it necessary to establish improved mail communication with the Far East. For the disappointment with regard to Bombay the P. and O. Company received some tangible compensation in the signature of a contract for a monthly mail to Singapore and Hongkong under a subvention of £160,000 a year. The spirit of enterprise which animated the Company may be conceived from the fact that on the strength of this guarantee it proceeded to build nine steamers, and at the

same time established new routes for commercial purposes in the Mediterranean and Black Seas. The following paragraph from Mr. Sutherland's introduction gives a graphic and accurate picture of the difficulties attending what was now a new undertaking under strange conditions :

"The difficulties of the Peninsular and Oriental Company were thus so far overcome, and it was now firmly established on the long line of communication from Southampton to Calcutta and from Ceylon to Hongkong. In the present day, when the ownership of steam vessels trading to the most distant parts of the world is all but a universal profession, it is not easy to realize the obstacles which existed forty or fifty years ago in the path of an undertaking of this kind. The slowness of capitalists to embark their money in the scheme and the dislike on the part of the Government to enter into contracts for the mail service on these distant lines in place of the system of conveyance by Government vessels have already been referred to. There was also not a little jealousy on the part of those who considered they held vested interests in the carrying trade of the East. These were matters requiring tact and patience to overcome their resistance, and, on the other hand, the extensive organization which had to be completed before the new lines could be considered in working order, demanded energy and administrative skill of no ordinary kind. It must be remembered that not a single coaling station existed along the whole route from Suez to Calcutta and Hongkong, and that every ton of coal had to be sent out from this country by sailing ships. At many ports there were no markets for provisions in the European sense, and how important and difficult must have been the duty of storing these large passenger steamers under such circumstances can only be fully understood by those who have had experience of similar work. There was practically no hotel accommodation on the route. At some places, such as Suez and Aden, there was not even fresh water. Arsenals and docks for the repair of the fleet had also to be provided first at Calcutta and then at Bombay, where the Company's China steamers had their head-quarters. To have these requirements supplied in such a way that comfort and even luxury prevailed for those who travelled by this new route and to render this distant navigation as safe as science and skill could make it was a work of a comprehensive order, the successful accomplishment of which must rank among the industrial achievements of an industrial age."

Having thus obtained a *locus standi* on both sides of the Isthmus of Suez, it became one of the chief tasks of the P. and O. Company to organize an efficient service through Egypt, so that the overland route originated by Waghorn might become established in public estimation, both for its

shortness and its comfort. The journey across Egypt was performed for many years without the facilities of a railway, and river steamers for the water part of the route, and omnibuses for the land, had to be provided and maintained in a state of efficiency. Without counting the stay at Cairo, which was sometimes one of days, the journey from Alexandria to Suez took thirty-four hours. The stop at Cairo was generally the only pleasing incident in a journey of considerable discomfort, which, for nearly twenty years, formed a prominent part of the celebrated Overland Route. It was not until 1859 that the Pasha of Egypt consented to the construction of the railway pressed upon him by the P. and O. Company, and which both accelerated the mails and conduced to the comfort and convenience of travellers. The change seems also to have been attended with considerable economy to the Company principally interested.

Before this was accomplished the interests of the P. and O. Company had been extended to the Antipodes. After a variety of schemes had been put forward and discussed, and after more than one rival had entered the field, an arrangement was finally effected in 1851 for a two-monthly service from Singapore to Sydney, in addition to a fortnightly mail to India and China. Communications with Australia, which at that time was only slowly acquiring the reputation it has subsequently obtained as a gold country, were subject to interruptions from the slight importance placed upon that colony, and during the Crimean War they were absolutely broken off on account of the P. and O. steamers being diverted for war purposes.

About this time, or to speak more precisely in 1854, the East India Company at length agreed to waive its pretensions with regard to Bombay, and to entrust the mail service with that port to the P. and O. Company. More than one consideration impelled it to make this concession. A large amount of public opprobrium and dissatisfaction had fallen upon the East India Company for the slowness and insecurity of the postal service. The

sailing vessels which were often employed on the journey from Aden to Bombay could not appear sufficient to people who had grown accustomed to steamers, and when one of them was lost at sea with a valuable mail the Directors themselves admitted that it was time to make a change. Economical considerations pointed in the same direction. The Bombay mail alone was costing the Company over £100,000 a year. The P. and O. Company declared their willingness to undertake it for less than £25,000. Thirty-five years, therefore, have elapsed since the whole of the Indian mail service passed into the hands of the Company which, despite keen competition both English and foreign, still retains it. If testimonial were required this fact would supply ample evidence as to the efficiency, regularity, and security with which a difficult public work has been discharged.

Reference has been made to the interruption of communications with Australia on account of the Crimean War. On its termination strenuous efforts were made in 1856 by the Colony to obtain an improved monthly mail from and to England. The work was put up to public contract, and four different steamship companies competed for it. Although the P. and O. offered to undertake the work for a considerably less sum, a Company known as the European and Australian obtained the successful tender, at an annual subsidy of £185,000. Its career proved brief, and the character of its resources may be inferred from the fact that it only possessed two steamers employed during the war with Russia, and that it offered to sell its contract to its chief rival on the engagement of the P. and O. Company to buy those vessels. The offer was contemptuously declined. For two years the European and Australian managed to carry on its work in a certain fashion, by means of temporarily chartering steamers for special journeys; but it collapsed at last, and its affairs showed a loss of nearly three quarters of a million. In 1859, as the result of a fresh tender, the Australian mail was restored to the P. and O. Company on a subsidy of £180,000. The Company had thus come into

possession of all the lines of steam communication with the East, and this had been obtained not through official favour or influence, but because "the managers of the undertaking had fought many a stout fight, cheered, no doubt, by the confidence of their shareholders and the consciousness of pursuing a straightforward and honourable policy."

The minor vicissitudes which marked the years following what may be called the realization of the P. and O. programme need not be described, because they sink into insignificance beside the great event which momentarily threatened to annihilate it, and which resulted in placing its prosperity on a surer and broader basis than ever before. The event referred to was of course the completion of the Suez Canal. A graphic and interesting account of his heroic undertaking is given by the veteran M. de Lesseps, and a more detailed criticism from the English standpoint is supplied of its history and influence on the commerce of the world by Mr. Thomas Sutherland. Two main facts contributed to establish the superiority of that route. The first was its shortness in point of distance; and the second, that steamers *via* the Cape had and have to carry the necessary fuel to the exclusion of cargo. As Mr. Sutherland says, these advantages were such as to "compel trade to follow in its train as certainly as that water will rise to its own level." If the advantages of the new route which was opened to the commerce of the world in October, 1869—or to use the words of M. de Lesseps, "*le canal de Suez, libre, neutre, accessible à tous dans des conditions identiques était ouvert à la grande navigation*"—have become clear for many years to all interested in the practical work of British trade, the policy of England long regarded with doubt and dislike the realization of an idea which not merely threatened to increase the old French influence in Egypt, but to improve the commercial position of the Mediterranean Powers, and to curtail the opportunities of British seamanship. Just as it was the fashion in his lifetime to belaud the prescience of

Lord Palmerston, so has it been for some years the habit to belittle him on this particular matter, but there are many men who now think that in a time of war the Suez Canal would benefit our enemies more than ourselves. However that may be, there is no room for doubt that the Suez Canal has established itself permanently as the shortest sea route between Europe and Asia for all commercial purposes, and whatever land routes through Russia or Asiatic Turkey may compete with it in the future, the cost of breaking bulk or trans-shipment must leave a large margin in favour of the uninterrupted water-way to the great ports of India and China.

The P. and O. Company was the first to suffer from the creation of the Suez Canal, and, with a hardy common-sense which has characterized its history throughout, it resolved to adapt itself to circumstances, and to take promptly the requisite steps to extricate itself from an unpleasant dilemma. The terms of its postal contract stipulated that the mails should be conveyed across Egypt from Alexandria to Suez, and when the Company requested leave to send the mail steamers through the Canal, it met with an emphatic and unqualified refusal. In face of this pronounced opposition, the Company had to devise some means of ensuring its own interests, which imperatively required that it should adopt the Suez Canal route, and at the same time of observing the strict letter of its postal contract. The steamers using the Canal were able to convey freights at a largely reduced price, in comparison with those charged by the Overland Route, and, as a necessary consequence, business left the P. and O., and found its way to the highly-subsidized Messageries and other lines using the Canal. To quote Mr. Sutherland's words, "ruin seemed to stare the Company in the face unless it also adopted the Canal route." The Post Office rigidly refused to help the Company out of its predicament, and making "the Company's necessity its opportunity," demanded a large pecuniary indemnity as the price of its

compliance. To this sacrifice the P. and O. Company would not submit, and, notwithstanding the strong official disfavour which the step excited, its steamers were ordered to proceed through the Canal, landing the mails at Alexandria, and picking them up again at Suez. By this means the managers succeeded in reconciling their own interests with their engagements to the Government, which, however much it disliked being circumvented in this way, had no means of showing its resentment, save by imposing fines for late arrivals, and as these never occurred it had to conceal its displeasure. After two years of these strained relations, a wiser policy came into vogue. The permanent success of the Suez Canal was assured, and the Post Office sanctioned its being made the mail route, on the P. and O. Company surrendering about £20,000 of its subvention for the saving in the transport across Egypt.

The definite acceptance of the new route, and the punctuality with which the service was rendered, did not ensure for the P. and O. Company undisputed possession of the mail contract. When the fifth contract, which ratified the Suez Canal arrangement, expired in 1880, after two years' notice, the service was again offered to public tender, and with it was coupled the proviso that all the mails should be sent *via* Brindisi. Several companies tendered for it in whole or in part, and again the tender of the P. and O. was both the lowest and also the one affording the best guarantee of performance. The service was therefore entrusted once more to its hands for a period of eight years, at a subsidy of £360,000, or an annual saving on the fifth contract of £70,000. To conclude the history of the Indian and China mail contracts, notice was given in 1886 that this contract would not be renewed on the same terms, and again tenders were publicly invited. On this occasion only one competitor entered the field against the Company that had carried on the service for more than a generation, and in 1887 the seventh contract was signed for a period of ten years at the reduced subsidy of

£265,000. One curious incident marked the discussion that preceded this arrangement. The Post Office, returning after the lapse of twelve years to its old preference for the Overland Route, wished to insist on the mails being again sent *via* Alexandria and Suez. After some time spent in argument, the Government came round to the views of the Company, but rather because the subsidy had been so much reduced, than because it admitted the superiority of the Canal route. About the same time the Company had the satisfaction of completing its arrangements with all the Australian Colonies by a sixth contract, by which mail steamers are provided at Aden for Australia, in connection with the Indian weekly steamers from Brindisi, at a subsidy of only £85,000 a year. Both these contracts are now in full force, and it is under their provisions that mails are despatched every week to our great possessions in Asia and Australia, as well as to China.

If the Government has gained by the reduction of the subsidy paid for the mail service, the gain of the public has been still greater, and it is not to be measured alone by the reduction in the cost of postage. The acceleration of the mails in even the last fifteen years has been something little short of marvellous. In 1873 it took 23 days to reach Bombay, in 1887 only 16½ days. These are contract times, but it is no uncommon occurrence for letters to reach Bombay 15 days after they leave Charing Cross. Chinese mails have been expedited to a still greater extent. In 1873 they took 45½; they are now allowed 37½ days, but, on an average, they perform the long voyage to Shanghai in three days less time. Melbourne was reached in 48 days in 1873. The mails are now due in 35½ days, and, on an average, they also are nearly three days quicker than contract time. It may be insinuated that there is another side to this picture, and that exceptional rapidity may be dearly purchased by irregularity in the service and frequent late arrivals. Such criticism is silenced by the fact that in three years there were only

two late arrivals at Bombay and one each at Shanghai and Melbourne. When it is remembered that the mail routes to India, China, and Australia represent a mileage of about 21,000 miles, it will be admitted that this punctuality, in face of all the risks and uncertainties of a long ocean voyage, is little short of extraordinary.

The present fleet of the P. and O. Company is composed of fifty-four steamers, with a total tonnage of 209,872 tons, or an average per ship of 3,887 tons. The four largest vessels, built to celebrate the Jubilee Year, are the *Victoria*, *Britannia*, *Oceana*, and *Arcadia*, all exceeding 6,000 tons, and with a horse-power of 7,000. Thirty-five years ago the Company owned a vessel, the *Himalaya*, of 3,438 tons, and 2,050 horse-power, but she was found too big for the commercial work of that day, and the Company were glad to sell her to the Government as a transport, in which capacity she is still acting. So late as 1870 the average tonnage of the P. and O. fleet was only two thousand tons. Since the opening of the Suez Canal, the commerce of the world has been carried on more and more in large-sized vessels, true leviathans of the deep. The introduction of the compound engine, which enables one ton of coal to do as much as four or five tons did before, has solved the great question of fuel, which both occupied the ship's space to the exclusion of cargo, and kept up the cost of freight to an almost prohibitive standard. The opening of the Suez Canal, followed speedily, as it was, by the general adoption of the late Mr. Ericson's invention, the compound engine, revolutionized the question of freights, which are now one-eighth and one-tenth what they were in 1869. At the same time, the Naval Architect has done much to contribute towards the same result in the improvement he has effected in the art of ship-building, not only by a more scientific adaptation of materials, but by the superior quality of the workmanship. All these causes have combined to enable an ordinary Company without any State aid to found a commercial navy which is without a superior in the world,

if, indeed, it has an equal, and at the same time to reduce its freights and to accept lower postal contracts from the Government, and passages from the ordinary traveller.

The following statistics will be read with interest, and merit being placed on permanent record. The Company now owns fifty-four steamers, besides steam launches, &c., aggregating in all 210,231 tons and 197,806 horse-power effective. Although the steamers are not constructed with a view to make sensational runs in the way of speed, but rather with a view to maintain regularly a good rate of speed for voyages exceeding 12,000 miles, each vessel is capable of steaming at the rate of from 15 to 20 miles per hour. As an instance of this it may be mentioned that the *Oceana* has just completed one year's work, during which period she has steamed over 75,000 miles. This 75,000 miles was accomplished in 211 steaming days, giving an average of nearly 15 knots an hour over the whole distance.

Each vessel carries a crew from 100 to 270 men all told, the total number of *employés* ashore and afloat being little short of 12,000. The amount paid in wages is nearly £400,000. Wood was the material used for the hulls of the Company's steamers from 1837 to 1842, when they became possessed of their first iron ocean vessel. From that date iron rapidly superseded the use of wood, and this material in its turn had to yield to steel in 1880, when the Company built their first steel vessel.

Nearly 2,600,000 miles are traversed in the course of a year, and during the same time 28,000,000 lbs. of provisions, 1,000,000 bottles of wine, spirits, beer, &c., and 360,000 head of live stock are consumed, the Company's bill for these amounting to something like £300,000. The amount of coal which is burnt on board the Company's ships was last year 482,266 tons, purchased at a cost of over half a million of money. An amount each year exceeding £200,000 is paid to the Suez Canal Company for dues on ships and passengers. The total number of passengers

conveyed by the Company's steamers during one year approaches 60,000, the exact figure last year being 59,570.

The reduced value of the Company's fleet at the end of last year was £2,214,905, although the ships originally cost to build a sum exceeding £6,000,000. The Company is its own insurer. The Company's earliest vessels, built in 1829-51, were propelled by paddle wheels. It owned its first screw vessel in 1851, from which date it practically ceased building paddle vessels, the screw possessing so many advantages for ocean navigation. The slow-moving ponderous engines were displaced by faster moving geared screw engines in 1851, and by very much quicker moving direct acting screw engines in 1855, and since then the speed of the engines has been still further increased. The wasteful jet condenser was superseded by the surface condenser in 1861, when the compound engine was adopted. The superheater was introduced in 1860 with a marked saving in fuel.

Up to 1847 the usual steam pressure was 7 lbs. per square inch, but after that date it slowly rose to 20 lbs. in 1855, as improvements were made in the design and manufacture of engines and boilers. Since the introduction of the compound expansion engine into the Company's fleet in 1861, the pressure has risen to 40 lbs. in 1870, and to 90 lbs. in 1881, and now it has reached 160 lbs. pressure, to suit triple expansion engines.

The weight of the largest steamer when fully laden and ready for sea is over 11,000 tons. The capital of the Company is £3,500,000.

Enough has, perhaps, been said to direct the attention of the general reader to an interesting work narrating the fortunes of a great national institution of which Englishmen interested in the East may naturally feel proud, but another and more important side of the question remains to be considered, and that is the place the P. and O. Company fills in the naval resources of England for purposes of war.

That it and other of the great steamship-owning companies can render valuable services in time of war is now generally admitted, and the four great steamers of the P. and O. Company named in the preceding paragraph are bound under arrangement with the Admiralty to play their part as armed cruisers in time of war. They are fitted with gun-platforms, and all the necessary appliances are to hand for their prompt conversion into fighting vessels. The services expected of these fine ships are something more than that they should be able to defend themselves. It is no new thing for our merchantmen to show fight, and the naval annals contain more than one record of a peaceful East Indiaman having beaten off a French privateer at the beginning of the present century. But such vessels as the *Victoria* or *Britannia* must be regarded as powerful auxiliaries in the difficult task of protecting English commerce from the raids of Russian or any foreign and hostile navies, particularly in Eastern waters. When armed with twenty-five-ton guns, their high rate of speed and their marked superiority in all the essential conditions of navigation should render them more than a match for any vessel of the Russian Patriotic Fleet, or that could be fitted out in American ports. However onerous the duties devolving upon the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean and Atlantic might be, there should be a long extent of ocean from Suez to India, Australia, and Singapore in which the P. and O. Company ships would be able to extend protection to other English vessels as well as to themselves.

Passing reference is made in the Pocket Book upon which this article is based, and with excusable pride to the services rendered in time of war by the Company. So long ago as the Crimean campaigns its steamers were used as transports in carrying 61,500 officers and men and 15,000 horses, and in order that they should be utilized to the fullest extent the Government sanctioned the suspension of the mail service to Australia and China. During the Indian Mutiny the rapid conveyance of 6,000 English

troops to Bombay, where their presence led to the check of the rebellious movement in Western India, and to the subsequent recovery of Central India by the late Lord Strathnairn, was entirely due to the excellent arrangements and efficient service of the P. and O. More recently in the Abyssinian affair, and during the several expeditions to Egypt, their aid in transporting troops and supplies was invoked and rendered with cordiality and satisfactory results. But it was not until 1885 that the idea of utilizing their steamers as armed cruisers began to be seriously entertained, and for this there is no doubt that we owe something to the boastful threats made in 1878 and 1879, in the Russian press, as to what havoc the Patriotic fleet and American vessels armed with letters of marque would work among our defenceless merchantmen. When, therefore, a fresh crisis arose in our relations with Russia on the occasion of the Penjdeh incident in 1885, it was not surprising to find that one of the first precautionary steps taken was to equip some of the finest merchant steamers in Asiatic waters as armed cruisers. Two P. and O. vessels, the *Massilia* and *Rosetta*, were specially chartered for this work at Sydney and Hongkong respectively. They were promptly fitted with guns and military stores, and were engaged in practising with their guns before the vessels chartered at Liverpool for the same purpose had received their equipment. After this it became part of the policy of the Admiralty to take a direct interest in the construction of the larger mail steamers, with an express view to their adaptability for purposes of war, and while it agreed to pay specified sums towards their construction, the Companies bound themselves to place the vessels at the disposal of the State in the event of hostilities. It may be mentioned that every one of the fifty-four steamers of the P. and O. fleet could accommodate from 1,000 to 2,600 men.

The fifty years during which the P. and O. Company has risen from a modest beginning to its present height of power and prosperity form a remarkable era in the history

of naval and commercial enterprise. It has been typical of this Company throughout to show courage under adverse circumstances, and to make success the stepping-stone to further advantages and a more stable position. In all the essential points of ship-building, the selection of new routes demanded by public requirements, efficiency of management on the ocean and in the head office, and a scrupulous regard for the interests of its passengers, it has kept abreast of the age, and has progressed *pari passu* with the rapid progress of steam navigation in the last half-century. Its commencement marked a fresh epoch in the conveyance of mails across the ocean, and it is now closely associated with that new development of our naval power which is entailed by the utilization of the fleets of our great steam-owning companies. Both incidents have exercised, and must continue to exercise, a profound influence on the commercial position and fortunes of this country, which has always owed a deeper debt of gratitude to the enterprise of her own people, whether as individuals or as powerful associations, than to the shifting and infirm policies of her Government, depending on electoral caprice, and swayed by the antagonistic views of two opposite Parties. Among those associations none has rendered better service than the P. and O. Company, which has earned by honest hard work a fixed place among the buttresses supporting the political and commercial power of England in Southern Asia and at the Antipodes.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

MAHOMED'S PLACE IN THE CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

MAHOMED did not recognize Paul as an apostle. In the Koran he is never mentioned, and every one of his peculiar doctrines has been systematically excluded. Yet Jesus is therein recognized as a Divine messenger and even as more than all other apostles, as being the Messiah announced by Hebrew prophets. Mahomed must therefore have believed that the doctrines of Paul were contrary to those of Jesus. If this doctrinal difference can be proved, the Koran will be found to approach much more closely the doctrines of Jesus than could hitherto be asserted.

It will here be assumed as a sufficiently established fact, that at all times in the history of Israel a recognized and also a not recognized tradition existed, that to the Massôra of Sadducees and Pharisees was opposed the Merkâba, the tradition of Jewish Dissenters, the Essenes. This third party in Israel, established as an order at least one hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, stood in connection with the doctrines of Buddhists, whose presence in Egypt, Syria, and other countries of the West, in the third century before Christ, is proved by the stone inscriptions of the Indian king Asôka, who reigned since 259 B.C., or 218 years after Buddha's death. In the Greek version of Jewish Scriptures, in the Septuagint, the fourth year after Buddha's death, that is B.C. 473, is substituted for the fourth year after Solomon's accession, when the foundation of the Temple took place. The now well established year of Buddha's death, 477 B.C., is thus confirmed by the Seventy whom Ptolemy assembled at

Alexandria, and the earliest part of whose version was published in 280 a.c.

The doctrines of these Jewish Dissenters were represented by Stephen, who first applied to Jesus the doctrine of the Angel Messiah, thus introducing the doctrine of Jesus as an incarnate Angel. After the death of Stephen, Saul the Pharisee became converted to the doctrines of the man over whose execution he had presided. These doctrines were never sanctioned by Jesus or the twelve apostles. By passing over in silence the peculiar doctrines of Paul, the Koran paves the way to aboriginal Christianity.

MAHOMED AND THE MESSIAH.

We cannot accept the vague and contradictory traditions about Mahomed having been instructed by a Christian monk Bahira-Sergius-Georgius-Nestor, nor by a slave Jabr.* It is certain that Mahomed had no access to the Greek Testament, and it may be doubted whether an Arabic version then existed, though it cannot be asserted that the exclusive language of the Christians in his day was Syriac. He seems to have received many suggestions from Christian friends, and it is possible that his cousin Waraqah early belonged to a Christian community. Every kind of Christian sect was then represented in Arabia, from the Arians to the Ebionites, from the Marianites who made Mary the third person in the Trinity, to the Colyridians (from *colyris*, "cakes") who offered cakes to Mary and worshipped her, though denying her enduring virginity.† The most numerous Christian sect in Arabia was that of the Ebionites or "the poor," possibly so called because Jesus had taught the gospel "to the poor." These Jewish Christians, like the aboriginal Christians, the

* These tales originated in the passage of the Koran (xvi. 105) where his enemies are recorded to have said, "It is only some mortal who teaches him. . . . The tongue of him they lean towards is barbarous, and this is plain Arabic."

† "Epiph. contra octoginta hæreses," cap. 79.

Nazarenes, possessed and recognized but one gospel, called "after Matthew," or "after the Hebrews," which in the fourth century the Nazarenes still had in its primitive Hebrew form. We know of the Ebionites and of those who, like the Nazarenes and Cerinthus, represented a cognate Christianity, that they repudiated the Apostle Paul, "maintaining that he was an apostle from the law," and that they rejected his Epistles and the Acts. They also possessed a secret scripture, "the preaching of Paul," which protested against his doctrines.* These Ebionite Scriptures and secret traditions seem to have been the principal sources from which Mahomed derived his knowledge through competent persons. For it is a generally known fact that all the peculiar doctrines of Paul have been excluded from the Koran.

To make in every case the right selection among the sources of knowledge open to Mahomed, would have been impossible for him as for the men of all times. In so far as Mahomed succeeded in this task, it must be attributed to the trustworthiness of Ebionite tradition and to Divine guidance. Because he tried to understand and to propagate the non-Paulinic Christianity of the Ebionites, the doctrines of Mahomed went back, as far as it was possible in his time, to aboriginal or pre-Paulinic Christianity; they nearly approached Christ's doctrine of the Holy Spirit's presence in mankind, which is here assumed.

The system of Paul's doctrine is based on the assumption that, in consequence of the fall of Adam and Eve, the Spirit which God had breathed into the nostrils of Adam was withdrawn. For obvious reasons the doctrine of the Divine Sonship could not be taught by Mahomed. He knew from the Scriptures that in the beginning God breathed His Spirit into man, and not a word in the Koran refers to a withdrawal of the same, which has been perhaps indicated in Genesis.† It can therefore be asserted that

* Iren. "*Haer.*" i. 262; Hilgenfeld, l. c. 39-42 f.; on the "*Evangelium Pauperum Essenorum*," p. 201. † Sur. xxxviii. 70; Gen. vi. 3.

the doctrine of Mahomed harmonizes with that of Jesus on the presence of the Spirit of God in mankind—the doctrine of the soul-saving, ingrafted or inborn Word. But the consciousness of this presence of the Spirit had to be renewed. Therefore Mahomed taught that "in suitable intervals" God sent "apostles with revelations." As one of these messengers, according to his belief, the last of those who had been announced, the last of the prophets, he declared that "the guidance of humanity" was assigned to Islam.*

Instead of following the Alexandrian and Buddhistic doctrine of successive incarnations of angels, which doctrine Philo in the Book of Wisdom had applied to Israel's history, Mahomed distinguishes only in so far the prophets and apostles from their contemporaries, that the former possessed the Spirit in a renewed and higher power. He states that Jesus also had been "strengthened" with the Holy Spirit, a passage which points to the words of the Eightieth Psalm on the Son of Man whom God strengthened unto Himself. Repeatedly in the Koran incarnations of angels are excluded.†

"If we please we can make of you angels in the earth to succeed you. And verily He (Jesus) is a sign; doubt not, then, concerning it, but follow this right way, and let not the devil turn you away; verily he is to you an open foe. Were there angels on the earth, walking in quiet, we had surely sent them." "God does not bid you take the angels and the prophets for your lords." Mahomed insisted that he himself was "none other than a man sent as an apostle." Say, "We believe in God and that which has been sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Jacob and the tribes, and that which was given over to Moses and Jesus and the prophets by their Lord; we make no distinction between any of them, and unto Him we are

* Sur. xcii. (Sale).

† We follow the translation in Palmer's "Quran" (Sacred Books of the East, vol. iv., ix., edited by Max Müller).

resigned." "God is the patron of them who believe; He brings them forth from darkness into light." In so far as God, through His Spirit, spoke to all His apostles, therefore as regards their direct communion with Him there was no distinction between any of them. But Jesus, "the Apostle of God to the children of Israel," though "no other than a servant," whom God "favoured with the gift of prophecy," was the announced Messiah; according to the doctrine of Mahomed, God set Him up for "an example for the children of Israel." Therefore Jesus was something more than the other mortal apostles, much more than a prophet, in the opinion of Mahomed.*

From the Koran it can be assumed that Mahomed regarded Jesus as an exceptional, perhaps even as the perfect, instrument of the Holy Spirit. For whilst, in the Koran, Adam is called "the chosen of God" (*Safiyu' llahi*), Noah "the prophet of God" (*Nabiyu' llahi*), Abraham "the friend of God" (*Khalilu' llahi*), Jesus is called "the Spirit of God" (*Ruhu' llahi*), and Mahomed "the apostle of God" (*Rasulu' llahi*). According to the Koran, God has spoken with Moses because he "preferred" him before other prophets, and therefore he is called *Kalimu' llahi*, "he with whom God spoke." But Jesus was announced to Mary as "a holy Son" (or "pure boy"), and to the Son of Mary "evident signs" were given, and God "strengthened Him with the Holy Spirit." John was to confirm the Word from God, "that is Jesus, who was announced by the angel as "the Word from God." "His name shall be the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, respected in this world and in the next, and one of those who are near to God." Yet "the Messiah-Jesus, the Son of Mary, is only the Apostle of God and His Word, which He cast in Mary, and (that is) a Spirit from Him." "And we have continued in the footsteps of those prophets with Jesus the Son of Mary, confirming that which was before Him and the law, and we brought to Him the Gospel, wherein there is guidance and

* Sur. ii. xliii., 60 f.; xvii. 94, 98, 7; ii. 130, 139; xlii. 57 f.

light by verifying what was before Him of the Law, and a guidance and admonition for those who fear." The people had "but little knowledge" of the Spirit coming at the bidding of God.*

Gabriel was sent as a messenger of the Lord, in order to give Mary a holy son. The angel said, "Oh, Mary, verily God giveth thee glad tidings of a Word from Him, His name shall be the Messiah-Jesus, the Son of Mary, regarded in this world and the next, and of those whose place is nigh to God. . . . I am only a messenger of thy Lord, to bestow on thee a pure boy (a holy son). Said she: How can I have a boy? . . . He said: Thus says thy Lord, It is easy for me. . . . So she conceived him, and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree."

The trait in the legend of Mary which has been inserted in the Koran, though not in the Gospels, according to which the Holy Son of Mary was born near the trunk of a palm-tree, cannot be separated from the Buddha legend. For Buddha, the "holy son" of the virgin Maya, "the celestial woman," is said to have been born under two golden trees—under the Bodhi-tree, the tree of knowledge (originally Palasa, that is, the fig-tree, later the acacia); and secondly, under the Asoka-tree, the tree of life, which the Egyptians symbolized in pre-Mosaic times by a palm. Those two trees of the legend on the terrestrial Paradise are united to one tree in the Book of Genesis, and it was natural that the Mahomedan legend followed this tradition.

The legend of the Messiah as son of a virgin transferred to the Koran from the Gospel, and the tradition on which it is based, has originated in star-symbolism. We believe to have proved this beyond the possibility of justifiable doubt. According to this star-symbolism, which we know from the Zodiac, the yearly renewal of the apparent circuit of the sun round the earth takes place at the time of his entering the winter solstice, when the sign of Virgo

* Sur. ii. 254; xix. 16-22; iii. 40; vi. 169, 170; v. 50; xvii. 87.

appears on the Eastern horizon. The virgin of the Zodiac was represented already by the ancient Egyptians as Isis-Ceres holding in her arms the new-born sun-god Horus, and following the sun to the hidden sphere, as Istar-Venus was said to follow Tamsi-Adonis.* The virgin legend can be traced to Genesis and to the Apocalypse, and connected with similar traditions on the birth of Buddha, Sraosha, and other heroes of light.† This could not have been known to Mahomed or to the compilers of the Koran, though it must be assumed that those knew that connection who first applied this astronomical and astrological symbolism to the Messiah. Mahomed regarded the "twelve signs" of the Zodiac, and apparently also the "figures" connected with them, as set up and guarded by God.‡

In the Koran the highest of all apostles, Jesus the Messiah, is brought into connection with the apostles whom God sent to other nations. According to the Koran, a human delegate has by God been sent to every nation.§ According to tradition, the apostle Hud was sent to the Arabian tribe of the Ad, the apostle Saleh to the Thamud, Abraham to Babel, Lot to Sodom, and Shonib to Midian. Mahomed recognized only seven great prophets—Adam, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaak, Jacob, Moses, and Jesus—of whom the last, as the Messiah, was the greatest. All these were held to be human organs of the Holy Spirit, and in no wise dependent on one or more angels for their guidance. Yet Gabriel was sent to Mary, according to the Gospel and the Koran, and so was he sent to Mahomed to announce to him his apostleship. It is important to distinguish the position assigned to Gabriel in the Gospel, and that given him in the Koran. The Gospel after Luke describes him as the

* Comp. Matt. ii. 1, 2, about the "star-seers from the East" inquiring after the new-born King of the Jews, whose star they had seen.

† See "Christianity and Islam," by E. de Bunsen.

‡ Sur. xv. 18. In the time of Origen some Ebionites believed in the virgin-born Messiah. To these must have belonged Mahomed's informants.

§ Sur. x. 48-50; comp. Midrash Rabba, Talkud to Numb. xxii. 2.

angel standing "before God," * and thus as identical with the angel by God's throne, or Metatron, whom the Targum had described as the angel who was with Israel in the wilderness, and whom Paul had called the spiritual rock, or Christ. Only in the Paulinic Gospel is Gabriel mentioned, and the position there assigned to him is identical with that given to the Angel-Messiah whom Paul preached. This doctrine of the Angel-Messiah we found to have belonged to the tradition of Jewish Dissenters, the Essenes, and distinguished from the Messianic conceptions of Jesus and the recognized tradition at Jerusalem.

Whilst in the Paulinic Gospel it is Christ Himself, the first among angels, the Angel-Messiah who under the name of Gabriel announces His incarnation, the Koran knows no Angel-Messiah with whom to identify Gabriel. If through his friends Mahomed had a general knowledge of the contents of the "Apocalypse of John," he must have been struck by the position assigned in this Essenic, though anti-Paulinic, Scripture to the first of seven angels. That is exactly the same position which Gabriel holds in the Koran. A mighty angel, near to Him who sat on the throne, is in the Apocalypse described as holding in his hand a sealed book, then the same book as opened by Jesus, and containing the accomplishment of "the mystery of God," the final revelation. Even to the seer of this vision the understanding of it was impossible, and he was ordered not to write down the symbolical references to the contents of this book. From another vision in the Apocalypse, Mahomed could learn that an angel with "an everlasting Gospel" appeared to the seer. By these two visions, about a Book and a Gospel to be revealed, Mahomed would very naturally be led to hope for communications which might be made to him by Gabriel. Why should the apostle not be enabled to read what the seer could not read? Such thoughts may have preceded the recorded apparition of the angel to Mahomed when he

* Luke i. 19.

called on him to read. According to tradition, the angel held in his hand a book bound in silk, covered with pearls of paradise and gold, written on both sides, as the book was which the Apocalypse describes. Though Mahomed could not read, he might hope to receive an intuitive perception of the contents of the book in the angel's hand. We would thus explain the words at the beginning of the second Sura: "'There' or 'that' is the book." We can hardly consider it as doubtful that this passage, with the words following, "in which there is no doubt," was placed at the beginning of the Koran, in order to indicate thereby that this book, though not composed till after Mahomed's death, contains a continuous, infallible revelation, every alteration of the record of which, as in the Apocalypse, is prohibited at God's command.

The Messianic doctrine in the Koran is certainly not an imitation of the doctrine of the Double Messiah in the "Revelation of John," which doctrine we have found to agree in essential points with that of Cerinthus, as transmitted by Irenæus. According to the latter, the Jewish Gnostic Cerinthus was by the apostle John called at Ephesus "an enemy of the truth;" and in his Epistle, John designated as "a liar" that contemporary of his who promulgated the anti-Christian doctrine, according to which Jesus was distinguished from Christ, as in the Apocalypse, and also according to the doctrine of Cerinthus. Of none other than of him the promulgation of such a doctrine in the Apostolic age can be proved; so that, without the confirmatory testimony of the presbyter Caius and of Bishop Dionysius, Cerinthus must be regarded as the "John" of the Apocalypse.* According to the doctrine of the apostles at Jerusalem and of Mahomed, Jesus was the Christ as the anointed man, not as the incarnate Angel-Messiah born of a virgin, nor as the man united by the Holy Spirit with the celestial Christ, with the first among

* "Der Doppel-Messias in der Johannes-Apocalypse," in "Die Uebersetzung," il. pp. 119-130.

the angels. This conception was not recognized by the Massôra, by Jesus, by the twelve apostles, or by Mahomed.

In the Koran, Jesus the Messiah is distinguished from angels, not only physically but spiritually. As Jesus is in the Gospel distinguished from the angel Gabriel who announces Messiah's birth, so in the Koran Mahomed is distinguished from the angel Gabriel who announces his apostleship. The apostle was in no wise dependent on Gabriel or any other angel; he received his guidance directly from God. Thus also, as we assert, the Apostle John in his Epistle opposes the implied Cerinthian conception of the Angel-Messiah as the spiritual guide of the human Messiah. He refers his readers to the "unction from Him who is holy," as already received directly, without any mediation of an angel. That unction which excludes all other teachers, since it teaches all things, being truth and no lie, the unction through which God anointed Jesus, is the innate Word which is able to heal the soul, and through which a spiritual communion with God can be established. In perfect harmony with this apostolic doctrine, it is stated in the Koran that God Himself "aided" and "strengthened" Jesus "with the Holy Spirit." Had Mahomed's Christian informants not been so careful in following the pre-Paulinic doctrine, they might have been by the Paulinic Gospel after Luke misled into the belief that an angel "strengthened" Jesus on the Mount of Olives.*

Everything points to the conclusion that Mahomed's Ebionite informants pursued the object to take their stand on the Massoretic secret tradition, and on the aboriginal or non-Paulinic Christianity taught by Jesus. We find in the Koran not the least reference to the Paulinic doctrines on the pre-mundane personal existence of Christ, through whom are all things, on His atoning sacrificial death by the blood of His cross, nor to the descent of the Spirit of

* Luke xxii. 43; 1 John ii. 20; comp. Isa. liv. 13; Jer. xxxi. 31-34.

Promise, not till after this sacrificial death, and exclusively for the believers in the same; nor to the resurrection of Jesus on the third day according to the Scriptures, as the exact fulfilment of a prophecy by Moses.

Because Paul had connected with the crucifixion of Jesus the doctrine of His sacrificial death, that is, the reconciliation thereby effected between God and humanity, for this reason Mahomed seems to have denied the crucifixion of Jesus, as this was likewise done by other opposers of Paul. Although the anti-Pauline author of the Apocalypse in one passage refers to the crucifixion of "our Lord," that is, of Jesus at Jerusalem, he brings that event in no connection with the celestial Christ. This entirely agrees with the doctrine of Cerinthus, according to which Christ was not crucified with Jesus, but left Him before His suffering. The words in the Koran on the crucifixion exclude every distinction between Jesus and Christ. God said to Jesus, "I will make Thee die and take Thee up again to Me, and will clear Thee of those who misbelieve; and I will make those who follow Thee above those who misbelieve (Christians above Jews) at the day of judgment; and then to Me is your return, and I will decide between You concerning that wherein ye disagree." In another passage the crucifixion of Jesus is absolutely denied. The unbelievers said, "Verily we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, the Apostle of God; but they did not kill Him, and they did not crucify Him, but a similitude was made for them."^{*}

Like the Paulinian doctrine on the resurrection of Jesus as fulfilment of a Mosaic prophecy—a supposition excluded by the first three Gospels—the Paulinic doctrine on a personal return of Christ to the earth is not recorded in Koran. † In it no reference is found to the words of Jesus

^{*} Sur. iii. 47, 48; iv. 156. A similar conception was promulgated by the earliest Gnostics, Cerinthus, Basilides (Iren. par. l. 4), Carpocrates, and others.

† In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, excepting two doubtful passages in "The Epistles of Ignatius" (Magn. xi.; Smyrn. iii.), of

which seem to form the historical basis for the dogmatic enlargements leading to the doctrine on His personal return in glory. Mahomed's friends may, however, have communicated to him the words recorded in Matthew's Gospel, according to which Jesus already would have gathered together the children of Jerusalem if they had willed it; their house would be left unto them desolate, and they would not see Him until they had welcomed the time of Messianic fulfilment in the unexplained words of the psalmist and seer, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord." * We assume that Jesus has referred these words of the 118th Psalm to the promised prophet in the spirit and power of Elias, who should therefore come in the name or Spirit of the Lord, to reconcile Jews and Christians. If so, the time of Elias would be that to which Jesus referred when Israel would (spiritually) see Him, perhaps the time of the fulfilment of all Messianic prophecies. The partial non-fulfilment of these, especially Elias not having come, was the cause why the Jews did not as a nation recognize Jesus to be the promised Messiah—that is, the bringer of the promised new and spiritual covenant.

We venture to submit the following explanation of the words of Jesus on Israel's future :

The gathering of united Jews and Christians in the promised land, to which prophecies refer, will be contemporaneous with the "seeing" or spiritual beholding, with the recognizing of Jesus as Messiah, as the Sower who announced the future harvest. The centre of this brotherly union of Jews and Christians in the time of Elias will be formed by Jews and Mahomedans, by Jewish Christians.

Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, there is no reference to a second coming of Christ, which Justin assumes by figurative explanations, not by words of Christ or His apostles. The Fourth Gospel knows no distinction between a coming of Christ in lowliness and in glory.

* Matt. xxiii. 37-39; Psa. cxviii. 22-26. We refer verses 22 and 23 to the first and personal, verse 26 to the second and spiritual coming of Christ in the time of Elias.

Even if Mahomed should have known these words of Jesus referring to Israel's future, he could hardly have devolved from them the above-indicated conclusions. But had he wished to hasten the time to which these words point, it would have been necessary to return to pre-Paulinic Christianity. For the future event marked by Jesus, His being seen or recognized by Israel, whom God did not cast off, had by Paul been brought into connection with an apparition of Christ on a cloud, for the gathering of those who believed in Him, which visible return of Christ Paul had announced to take place before his death.* It is possible that Mahomed had some mysterious conception of a personal return of Jesus as Messiah in glory, but such a conception must have been absolutely different from that which Paul entertained. At all events, a tradition connects Mahomed with Christ returned to the earth. In the Hujra at Medina, where Mahomed lies buried, there is an empty grave, which Mahomedans explain as that of the returned Jesus Christ. He is called Syiduna Isa' bnu Maryama; that is, "Our Lord Jesus, Son of Mary."

On the supposition that Mahomed knew the above-cited words of Jesus, however those words be interpreted, the Apostle of Arabia could not have referred to so mysterious a prophecy, because a great majority of the Christians in his time had been misled by Paul's doctrine of Christ's personal return on a cloud. After the death of Paul, when this expectation had by the inexorable facts of history been judged as a false one, it was kept up by recording in the Acts the asserted visible ascension on a cloud, and the announcement, by two mysterious men in white apparel, of Christ's return in like manner as He had been seen go into heaven; that is, personally and on a cloud. So unhistorical was this record, that whilst Luke

* Did Paul regard himself as the prophet of Elias, who was to come "in the name of the Lord"? The confident expectation that in his lifetime Christ would be seen may have originated in such an application to himself of the words of Jesus on his being in future seen by Israel.

in his Gospel is said to have referred the ascension to the day of Christ's resurrection, the same Luke in the Acts is declared to have testified to the ascension on the fortieth day after the resurrection.*

The object of inserting sooner or later in the Acts this account of a visible lifting up of Jesus, and His personal return on a cloud, seems to us to have been the intention to confirm Paul's solemn announcement of such an event. "For this we say unto you as a word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming shall not go before them which are asleep. For He Himself, the Lord, shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and shall for ever be with the Lord." According to the so-called Second Epistle of Peter, on the day of the Lord "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the earth shall melt with heat, and the earth and the works on the same shall be burnt up." According to the Apocalypse, Christ is to rule over the earth a thousand years, and the coming of Christ was then expected soon to take place.† The true followers of Jesus can but be grateful to Mahomed and his counsellors that the Koran takes no cognizance of such expectation.

It is true that the doctrine of three Divine persons in Unity has not in this form originated with Paul; yet the position which he, and Philo and the Targum before him, had assigned to the pre-mundane Messiah, laid the basis to this doctrine. The Koran opposes to the Trinitarian doctrine, which the Church introduced in the second century, the fundamental doctrines of the faith promulgated by Mahomed, that there is no God but God, and that

* Luke xxiv. 46, 50-52; Acts I. 9-11.

† 1 Thess. iv. 15-17; 2 Pet. iii. 10; Rev. xx. 4-6. The "word of the Lord" is that recorded in Matt. xiii. 37-39. The "sign of the Son of man in heaven" will be explained by the future (Matt. xxiv. 30).

Mahomed, like Jesus the Messiah and others, is His apostle. "The Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, is but the Apostle of God, and His word which He cast (ingrafted) into Mary, and (that is) a spirit going forth from Him. Believe, then, in God and His Apostles, and say not Three. Have done! It were better for you. God is only one God." "The Messiah does surely not disdain to be a servant of God, nor do the angels who are nigh to Him." "They misbelieve who say, Verily God is the Messiah, the Son of Mary," or "Verily God is the third of Three." "Oh! Jesus, the Son of Mary, is it Thou who didst say to men, Take Me and My mother for two Gods beside God?" *

"When the Son of Mary was set forth as a parable, behold the people turned away from Him and said, Are our Gods (the Elohim) better, or is He? He is but a servant to whom We have been gracious, and We have made Him an example for the children of Israel. . . . When Jesus came with manifest signs, He said, I am come to You with wisdom, and I will explain to You something of that wherein Ye did dispute: then fear God, obey me: verily God He is my Lord, and your Lord. Serve Him, then: this is the right way." "He is the First and the Last." "God does not bid you take the angels and the prophets for your lords." "On the day of judgment God will say to the angels: 'Are these those who used to worship You?'" †

The words "The First and the Last" are as certainly taken from the Apocalypse as "My Lord and your Lord" from the Gospel after John. From the Old Testament one passage only is literally translated in the Koran: "The

* Sur. iv. 168-170; 19; v. 76, 77, 116.

† Sur. xliii. 57-64; lvii. 3; lli. 74; xxxiv. 39; xliii. 65. "Ambiguous verses," which God alone can explain (iii. 5). Jesus, as "the wisdom of God" who spoke in parables, could be called "a parable," since His doctrine admitted of a double explanation. The Koran is "a perspicuous book" (iv. 19).

righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever." *

If it had been possible at the time of Mahomed to explain the doctrinal development in the Gospels, particularly the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the first three, Mahomed might have been preserved from the error of applying to himself and his mission what had been published in the second century about the so-called promise of Jesus, that He would send from the Father another Advocate or Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth leading into all truth. "Jesus the Son of Mary said, Oh, Children of Israel, verily I am the Apostle of God to you, verifying the law that was before Me, and giving you glad tidings of a prophet who shall come after Me, whose name shall be Achmed; but when He did come, they said, This is manifest sorcery." Mahomed cannot have imagined that this so-called prophecy of Jesus, wrongly translated in the Koran, was invented in order to claim for the peculiar Paulinic doctrine the authority of Jesus, and also to lay a foundation for the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, which seems to have been introduced by the Montanists.

The Koran knows nothing of the Paulinian doctrine on hereditary sin. It lies in the nature of man to sin, and sin consists in making a wrong use of his free will. Though the Koran does not state what sin is, the above explanation of sin is therein clearly indicated. Mahomed did not believe in the doctrine of righteousness by faith, or in any doctrines which Paul had introduced into Christianity. Also he appears to have regarded the law of Moses in so far only as binding on his conscience as it had been explained by prophets. Mahomed demanded from his followers that they should believe in him as the last of the prophets or apostles, and in this being the right way to receive God's direction. Mahomed attached great importance to prayer, for which he fixed regular times. "Be ye steadfast in prayer, and give alms; and whatsoever

* *Sut.* xxi. 104, 105; *Psa.* xxxvii. 29.

good ye send before your own souls, ye shall find it with God, for God in all ye do doth see." Also "God and His Angels" pray for men "to bring them forth out of darkness into light." * The spiritual union in the Universe is thus testified in the Koran.

Islam or "resignation," according to Mahomed's doctrine, means the patient but not passive waiting of man for the "guidance" from above, for "God's guidance" which is the (good) guidance,† which will enable him to know and to do God's will. The word "Salm" implies not in the first place or exclusively submission to God's will, but means, on the contrary, one who strives after righteousness with all his strength.‡ The true followers of Islam will believe and confirm what has been taught by the messengers of God, and they will try rightly to explain the doctrinal development in the scriptures. The Koran acknowledges the free-will of God, and the free-will of man, who is regarded as a co-operator in his salvation. Yet the apparent discordance in the Koran on the subject of free-will very naturally called forth feuds between Muslims and Christians on this question. It seems to be a contradiction that whilst sin is said to be the disobeying of God's will, the latter is only from time to time made known to succeeding prophets, and through them to all men, with increasing fulness. But this is not a denial of man's free-will, since man has but to be willing to weigh and to follow the precepts of the Apostle, in order to be assured of the Divine guidance. "God sends down of His grace on whomsoever of His servants He wills." "Wherefore did ye kill God's prophets of yore, if ye were true believers?" § Timely repentance is recommended, as also the offering of "sacrifices" to God; but these are designated as only then "valuable" when they

* Sur. ii. 104, 278; comp. xii. 78; lxxiii. 22; xxxiii. 42.

† Sur. ii. 114.

‡ Syed Ameer Ali, "The Life and Teachings of Mahomed," p. 159.

§ Sur. ii. 84, 85.

"go forth from the piety of human hearts." Hereby it is clearly indicated, that the sacrifices of self-will, the "resignation" in the Divine will, to which the Koran so often refers, is the only sacrifice well-pleasing to God. Faith in Divine guidance, good works and humility lead to a blessing.

A Muslim or "righteous one" must be willing to follow the will of God, to strive for the better knowledge of it and to do the same. If Mahomed had not recognized free-will, he could not have announced the doctrine of rewards and punishments. "Verily, when one of you commits a good deed, God will reward it in His eyes with great reward; who does evil and is surrounded by misdeeds, they will become associates of hell fire." "Righteousness is not that ye turn your faces (in prayer) towards the East or West; and righteousness is of him who believes in God and the last day and the angels and the book and prophets; who gives wealth for the sake of God to his kindred and orphans and poor, and the son of the road (the wayfarer) and those in captivity; and who is steadfast in prayer and gives alms, and those who are sure of their covenant when they make a covenant, and the patient in poverty and distress and in time of violence; these are those who are true, and these are those who fear (God)." The Muslim must believe and do good work and humble himself before the Lord, knowing that "God steps in between a man and his heart." He knows that "the abode of future life is better for those who fear." "If I knew the unseen, I should surely have much that is good, nor would evil touch me."* No good works in themselves, no self-righteousness suffices for winning Paradise. Even in the last moments of his conscious life Mahomed prayed for "forgiveness," and he thought of "the glorious associates on high." It is not Mahomed's fault if his followers entertain fatalistic and materialistic views on the future.

* Sur. vii. 169, 188.

We can now answer the question, in what sense according to the Koran a Redeemer is necessary. God Himself will atone and forgive sin. There is no need for a vicariate sacrifice to bring about a reconciliation between God and humanity. "The camels (for sacrifice) We have made for you the symbols of God; so mention the name of God over them as they stand in a row (to be sacrificed). Their meat will never reach God, nor yet their blood, but the piety from you will reach to Him." "Lord, make us not to carry what we have not strength for, but forgive us and pardon us and have mercy on us." "God will cover for you your offences, and will forgive you, for God is Lord of mighty grace." God has been "gracious" to His "servant" Jesus. "The Spirit comes of the bidding of the Lord." * It is "with the permission of God" that the first among angels, Gabriel, the revealer of the Word of God, from time to time became the mediator of spiritual communications. Angels are messengers of God who do His pleasure, but they have never walked on earth.

Mahomed has in no wise brought the birth of Jesus into connection with the Paulinic-Essenic doctrine of an Angel-Messiah, which points back to Buddhism. Jesus and Mahomed have opposed this doctrine. It does not appear that Mahomed has called Jesus "the Son of Man," which Messianically interpreted title, referred to in the Eightieth Psalm and the Danielic vision, Jesus applied to Himself, as pointing, like the 118th Psalm, to the Messianic Kingdom which began with His preaching. Mahomed's conception of Jesus as the Messiah agrees with that recorded in the Eightieth Psalm, and Daniel's vision where the Son of Man is described as raised from earth to heaven, not as come down from heaven to earth.

It is the crown of Islam that its author associated himself with the original, not with Paulinic Christianity.

* Sur. xxii. 37; ii. 285 f.; viii. 29; xliii. 47-51; xvii. 87.

THE FUTURE OF ISLAM.

I have thus tried to indicate in general outlines the place of Mahomed in the Church. I have done so without prejudice, according to the principles of criticism which science has now established, and with an eye to peace and good-will among the religions of mankind. In conclusion, I ask whether the place which Mahomedan states take in the civilized world is that which seems to be due to their high conception of the unity of God. In general terms, the answer must be that the place ought to be a very much higher one than that which any of these states have occupied or now occupy. I will first point out the chief hindrances which stand in the way of that intellectual and social progress without which Islam cannot fulfil its high destiny.

Above all, the followers of Mahomed do not follow his command to believe what prophets before him have said, and what he had come to confirm. The highest among these messengers of God, the Prophet among all prophets, the Apostle above all apostles, according to the doctrine of the Koran, was Jesus, the promised Messiah or Christ. If it had been possible in the time of Mahomed, to draw a distinct line of demarcation between what Jesus really said, and that which had been wrongly attributed to Him in the New Testament, Mahomed would have conveyed this inestimable truth, not only to the Arabs, but to the whole world. He has not clearly stated, and indeed could not have done so, not himself having known the Bible, in what part of the Scriptures the most faithful record of words of Jesus is contained; yet we find, as already stated, a clear indication in the Koran, that the peculiar doctrinal principles announced by Paul and adapted to Jesus, were by Mahomed believed not to harmonize with the doctrines of the Messiah, but to be in essential points directly opposed to the same. It may perhaps be assumed, not contrary to anything contained in the Koran, that according to the

conviction at which Mahomed had arrived, gradually and not without serious inquiry, the Sermon on the Mount, the parables about the Kingdom of Heaven, the prayer which Jesus taught His disciples, and the words which He addressed to them in secret—perhaps partly recorded in the Fourth Gospel—contain the most genuine and the most important sayings of Jesus. In none of these is there the slightest reference to those doctrines which, by his influence on Essenic Christians, Paul has been able to introduce into the Christian community.

The scientific inquiry into the truths of the Bible points with irresistible force to this result. The general harmony of the doctrines recorded or indicated in the Koran with the results of scientific Biblical investigation, cannot be regarded as a chance-coincidence. If this agreement could be explained by human design, not by the trustworthiness of the tradition transmitted by Ebionitic Christians, the Koran would point to those results of Biblical criticism, unknown even two centuries ago, without which the Bible would have remained for all, what it is still for millions, a sealed Book. Only by the application of the principles of scientific inquiry has it become possible to excavate the foundations of pre-Paulinic Christianity. On these rests the doctrinal edifice of the Koran. The Koran was neither written nor ordered to be composed by Mahomed. He would have protested against it as a supposed for-ever-binding code of laws: and in a much higher degree Jesus would protest against the Scriptures of the New Testament. Moreover, Mahomed would not have composed a book for religious use without frequent references to the best authenticated sayings of Jesus, which form the very foundation of Mahomed's most essential doctrines. If it were objected that some of the doctrines conveyed by Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, as for instance the injunction to love the enemy and to be peacemakers, have not been practised by the followers of Mahomed, the same must be said of the followers of Jesus.

The Muslim will be able, it is hoped, not only to read and explain the Koran according to its "true reading," as is here recommended, but also to have a feeling heart for the incomparably sublime prayer which their "Lord" Jesus addressed to the One God. The time will surely come when they will teach that prayer in their schools, repeat it in their mosques, and at their private devotions. They will recognize it as a prayer for the Divine "direction" of humanity through the Spirit: a prayer for the submission, resignation or Islam of the human will to the will of God who is in heaven. Mahomed must have feared that by the word "Father," which in the Koran is never applied to God, his followers might be misled into the belief that in a literal and fleshly sense man can be a son of God. The Muslim will remain in perfect accord with the doctrines of the Koran if they pray, with Jesus the Messiah, "Our Father which art in Heaven."

The "name" of God, which was "in" the Angel in the wilderness, means the Spirit of God, whom Gabriel is said to have brought to Mary and to Mahomed. The Muslim revere the name Allah as holy, and they believe in the "holy" Son of Mary. Through the name or Spirit of God, Jesus and other men have cast out devils "with the permission of God," as the Koran indicates. Therefore Mahomedans will but repeat an ancient prayer when they say, with Jesus: "hallowed be Thy Name." The Muslim believes that he must be resigned to the will of God, and therefore he can give expression to this ancestral faith by the words of the prayer, "Thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth." Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians—in future all men—will pray to God for the daily bread, food for body and soul. Like Jesus, Mahomed has taught that God forgives sin, and that men are to forgive trespasses. With Jesus Mahomedans will pray, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us." To pray for the continuity of Divine guidance is to pray that

man may never be forsaken by the same, may not be tempted to follow his own will. This is the meaning of the words, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." The prayer of Jesus, which if Mahomed knew it, will have been for him a guidance and a comfort, ends with the words, "Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever and ever." The same belief is often expressed in the Koran.

If the first hindrance which stands in the way of Islam's progress consists in the little regard which Mahomedans have for that which has been said by apostles before Mahomed, especially by Jesus the Messiah, the second hindrance lies in the want of a suitable education for the lower and middle classes. A carefully composed extract from the Koran (also translated in other languages) with annotations, pointing out its innermost germ, and a "true reading," ought to be published and promulgated. A popular epitome of the world's history, the elements of the comparative science of religions, the laws of Nature, love towards all men, kindness to animals, love of truth, cleanliness and sanitary science, ought to be taught early to the followers of Mahomed by the best attainable teachers, irrespectively of their nationality or creed. Thus enlightened, the people of Islam will soon understand the necessity of not regarding the Koran as a compendium of revelations. The real place of the Koran in universal history will then be understood by them, and this book will be all the more prized. If Mahomedans seek in the Koran the basis of a Divine plan, together with results of human experience, practical wisdom for the terrestrial and the super-terrestrial life, it will go with them as with the Christians since they began to recognize in their Holy Scriptures the wisdom of men enlightened by the Holy Spirit. They would observe how the sublime doctrines of Jesus are approximated by those of Mahomed. Another effect of a suitable general education will be the disappearance of the legally secured inequality between different nationalities, between persons

of different ranks or creeds, above all between man and woman, and finally the abolition of slavery.

It has been argued, with the convincing power of truth, that whilst slavery was not by aboriginal Christianity denounced as a curse of humanity,* yet that, "by connecting the most onerous responsibilities with its practice," Mahomed's religion provided for its gradual but absolute extinction. Mahomed exhorted his followers to enfranchise slaves, "than which there was not a more acceptable act to God." He ruled "that for certain sins of omission the penalty should be the manumission of slaves; he ordered that a slave should be allowed to buy himself off by the wages of his service; and that, in case the unfortunate beings had no present means of gain, and wanted to earn in some other employment enough to purchase their liberty, advances were to be made to him from public funds. In certain contingencies it was provided that the slave should become enfranchised without interference, and even against the will of his master. The contract or agreement in which the least doubt was discovered was constructed most favourably in the interests of the slave, and the slightest promise on the part of the master was made obligatory for the purposes of enfranchisement."†

What in our days is not happily called "a crusade" against the slave-trade has been connected with the assertion that "to reduce the negro to slavery is a right, since it is on Mahomedan doctrines that it reposes.‡ This direct

* According to Jewish Law, "He that stealeth a man (an Israelite?) and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death" (Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xiv. 7). But Paul argued that the slave in a Christian household, though he have the prospect of being freed, is not to aim at his liberation (1 Cor. vii. 20-22). Even the runaway slave Onesimus, whom Paul had converted, was sent back to his master Philemon, who is to receive him as a "beloved brother," whereby the legal emancipation is not necessarily included (Phil. 16-19). But compare 1 Tim. i. 8-11.

† Sur. xiv. 23, 24. Syed Amree Ali, l. c. 254-256.

‡ Cardinal Lavigne at Sainte Godule, August 15, 1833; compare "Independance Belge," August 16.

charge against the Koran has not been repeated on another occasion, when, however, Cardinal Lavigerie challenged the Sheikhs ul Islam to declare that they consider the violent capture of an infidel and his sale by the believer as contrary to natural and to Divine Law. He adds, "I do not know in Africa a single independent Mahomedan state whose sovereign does not permit, under the most atrocious conditions of barbarism, the hunting and the sale of slaves." We must admit this evidence, but such practice is a violation of Mahomed's words: "The worst of men is he who sells slaves." * As far as the Cardinal's words are directed against Mahomedan governments, they are confirmed by the African traveller Rohlfis, who wrote: "At present Islam has triumphed, and slavery, the inevitable consequence of Mahomedan government, is re-established."

These political influences, so contrary to the injunctions of the Koran, will not for ever be permitted to stand in the way of measures such as those now being taken by united Powers to prevent in Africa the exportation of slaves, and the importation of arms and ammunition. Even the conception of a crusade against Islam would be impossible in our days of enlightenment. If such an attack were anywhere attempted, it would call forth the Jihad, or the utmost effort "for the protection of Mahomedanism against assault." But even the Jihad so explained, what was later called "the holy war," a "righteous effort of waging war in self-defence against the grossest outrage on one's religion," is strictly limited by the Koran. "Permission is granted unto those who take arms against the unbelievers, *because* they have been unjustly persecuted by them, and have been turned out of their habitations injuriously, and for *no other reason* than because they say, 'Our Lord is God.' And if God did not repel the violence of some men by others, verily monasteries and churches and synagogues and mosques,

* According to the second source of Mahomedan law, the authenticated tradition or Hadis, accepted by Sunnis and Shi'ahs alike, and communicated by Jabir Ibn Abdullah (Leitner, *Diplomatic Fly-Sheets*, August 14, 1888).

wherein the name of God is frequently commemorated, would be utterly demolished." *

Another serious hindrance, one of a political nature, to the progress of Islam nations, is the present degradation of woman. It may perhaps be assumed that unlimited polygamy prevailed among the Arabs prior to the promulgation of Islam. But from this it does not follow that Mahomed did provide efficient remedies against the accumulated evils of polygamy, which would have been impossible. As to his own example, we are of opinion that, had Khadija survived Mahomed, his faithfulness to her would have made of his life a protest against polygamy. Respecting his marriages after Khadija's death, they ought to be considered from the most humane point of view, after duly weighing the then existing circumstances.

Apart from the degradation of women caused by polygamy, her social position is better than is generally acknowledged in Europe. Indeed, Professor Leitner, who has lived the greater part of his life among Mahomedans, and who has based his critical examination of Islamic schools on about six thousand school reports, asserts that "nothing, except perhaps the Hindu family-life in the higher castes, can exceed the respect, tenderness, purity, and legitimate influence of woman in the Mahomedan household." "Mahomedan women are in possession of greater legal rights than are possessed by English women, even since the Married Women Property Act of 1882." † With regard to the veil, though it was not introduced by Khadija, the traditions about her gave a special sanction to it. She knew from Waraqah that an angel of light flees on beholding unveiled woman: therefore when she saw an angel fly away whilst she took off her veil, she felt convinced that it was Gabriel that had appeared to Mahomed. It

* Sura, entitled "The Pilgrimage or Hajj"; Dr. Leitner, "Jihād," in *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, October, 1886.

† *Diplomatic Fly-Sheets*, March 6, 1888, p. 250 f.

was believed that the veil prevents evil spirits from doing harm.*

Another hindrance to Islam's progress and to the peaceful relations between religions, is the want of knowledge respecting symbols, particularly the symbol of the cross in its pre-Paulinic meaning. According to the teaching of Jesus, the Cross continued to be the sign of Divine enlightenment, as the Tau-cross, in the form of a yoke, had been explained by the ancient Egyptians and Indians. These connected it respectively with the sun—the Tau meaning *ankh* or "enduring life"—and the Swastika-cross, perhaps originally in the form of a Tau, with the two fire-sticks. Fire became the symbol of the Spirit. Because the Spirit is in every man, Jesus taught that every man is to take upon him his own cross, or the easy yoke of spiritual obedience, and to follow him. The Cross is the symbol of Divine guidance, not of a sacrificial atonement. The historical and deeply poetical symbol of the Crucified Jesus, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit, means that He followed the Divine guidance, faithful unto the death of the Cross. The Cross ought to be set up by Mahomedans on the tops of the mosques; they will do this when they know what was the symbolical meaning of the Cross, according to the meaning of Jesus the Messiah. For it is now proved, how rightly Mahomed was guided in his protest against any kind of connection of the Cross with Paul's new doctrine of a reconciliation between God and mankind by the blood of Messiah's Cross. Those who by Paul are called "the enemies of the Cross of Christ," are now able to declare that this statement is contrary to aboriginal Christianity. All true followers of Jesus will set forth the true meaning of the Cross as the symbol of spiritual guidance, of Divine enlightenment, and they will take upon themselves their cross, bear the easy yoke of spiritual rule, and follow Jesus. Only a revision and partial reform will be required with

* This superstitious idea may have stood in connection with the Rabbinical explanation of Gen. vi.; comp. 1 Cor. xi. 10.

reference to the five foundations or pillars of practice in Islam. The recital of the Kalimah or creed: "There is no Deity but God, and Mahomed is the Rasul or Apostle of God," will remain an unaltered institution, for the Koran constantly connects Mahomed with the previous apostles, above all with Jesus the Messiah. The Salat or Prayer will remain "the Pillar of Religion." The partial ablutions ordered to precede prayer will be explained as symbols of the spiritual purity which the Muslim strives to attain. The Ramazan, or month of fasting, stands in connection with similar Jewish and Christian rites. The Zakat, literally "purification," the legal alms or poor-rate, is an admirable provision for the poor. The yearly Mahomedan Pilgrimage, not obligatory, and undertaken only by those in easy circumstances, if freed from all superstitions, will continue to be a symbol of the brotherhood of mankind. Under the protection of efficient arrangements, it will help to establish that progress, based on liberty, equality, and fraternity, which was the most sacred aim of Mahomed's mission. With regard to the House of God, the ideal of Mahomed was that of Isaiah and Jesus, "a house of prayer for all people."* As a matter of fact, the Mahomedan is not forbidden to worship in a Christian church, or in a Jewish synagogue. The Apostle who destroyed idolatry wherever he could do so, had it not in his power to remove all idolatrous practices at the Kaaba or in other places. How could he have wished to prevent a future development and reformation? The principles of Islamic reform as broadly indicated above, are either expressed or implied in the Koran, and by living tradition.

A reformation of Islam in the spirit of its founder, but beyond what Mahomed could contemplate, is considered to be an impossibility by a high, but not unprejudiced, authority. Sir William Muir regards "the lower position of Islam in the scale of civilization" as the necessary consequence of two causes. Islam's founder meant it only "for Arabia, not

* *Suz.* iii. 50; *Isa.* lvi. 73; *xxii.* 29; *Mark.* xi. 17.

for the world, for the Arabs of the seventh century, not for the Arabs of all time; and being such and nothing more, its claim of Divine origin renders change or development impossible." Regarding the first point, the writer admits it to be doubtful whether Mahomed in his later days may have contemplated the reformation of other religions beyond the peninsula, or the further spread of his own. The second point is the most important. He observes that all the injunctions, "social and ceremonial, as well as doctrinal and didactic," are embodied in the Koran, as part "of the Divine Law," so that "defying as sacrilege all human touch," the Koran stands unalterable for ever. "From the stiff and rigid shroud in which it is thus swathed, the religion of Mahomed cannot emerge. It has no plastic power beyond that exercised in its earliest days. Hardened now and inelastic, it can neither adapt itself, nor yet shape its votaries, nor even suffer them to shape themselves, to the varying circumstances, the wants and developments of mankind." *

To the impartial reader we would suggest the following reply. What has become of the many injunctions in the Old Testament, embodied with every peculiarity of detail as part of the Divine Law? How is to be explained the doctrinal development in the Bible? We are told in the New Testament that since the most ancient times essential doctrines were "kept in silence" till the mystery was "made known by prophets." Thus Jesus has declared that the doctrine of the Spirit of God in mankind, the spiritual covenant, the kingdom of heaven, had been kept back and its spreading hindered by the Law and the Prophets until John. Did Jesus consider that this imposed silence was in accordance with a Divine command, or did He therefore call Moses and the Prophets "thieves and robbers" because they had taken away "the key of knowledge" from the people, because they had covered the Scriptures by a veil, for having done what Paul implies to

* Sir William Muir, "The Rise and Decline of Islam," pp. 40, 41.

have been the falsifying of God's word? Who were inspired—the original writers, or those who revised and developed their doctrines? If the latter, then that which is recorded in the Bible as part of the Divine Law, "defying as sacrilege all human touch," was nevertheless reformed with Divine sanction. If the Bible and its interpretation has not stood "unalterable for ever," how can it be asserted that a reformation of the Koran, in the spirit of the founder of Islam, is impossible? In the words of Barthélemy St. Hilaire, "there is no more reason to revolt against Islam than to despair of softening it." *

The Apostle of Arabia aimed at the confirmation and general acceptance of that which the greatest of apostles, Jesus the Messiah, had taught. Difficult as it then was to acquire an exact knowledge of this doctrine, Mahomed's rejection of Paul's doctrines shows that he had rightly discerned the genuine doctrines of Jesus, and that he held them more firmly than many Christians of his time. With the assistance of his friends among the Ebionite Christians, who did not recognize the apostleship of Paul, Mahomed learned the principal tenets of pre-Paulinic Christianity. He regarded as his mission the renewed announcement of that truth which had so long been kept in silence, and which, when proclaimed by Jesus, had been veiled over and corrupted by the new doctrines of Paul: the truth, that the Divine guidance is open to every man. The new faith of which Paul asserted that it had not been revealed before his time, had to be separated from the Gospel of the Kingdom, which Jesus had announced. The negative principles of the Koran, connected with its positive contents, explain the incomparable success of Islam, and insure to it a glorious future.

If the exigencies of our advancing time require a reform of Islam, the question arises who shall give the first impulse to it; who shall take the lead of the movement? Certainly not Christian missionaries, who—without knowing it—un-

* "Mahomet et le Koran," p. lx.

dermine by their teaching the connection of Islam with the doctrines of Jesus. Only the example of men of a higher culture, the avoiding of all attempts at conversion, the support of suitable teachers in Mahomedan schools, will further the development of Islam. The Sultan would have the power to carry through such a reform, for the democratic theocracy of the Sunnis recognizes the in fact existing Khalifat (Khilafat) of the Sultan for the time being. This is done without going counter to the general expectation in the Mahomedan world of a spiritual head or Imam, whom the Shiahhs expect to be a Koreishi by descent, and as the re-appearance of the twelfth and last Imam, Muhammad Mahdi, who disappeared in A.H. 265, or A.D. 878-879.*

CONCLUSION.

In order to be able to mark the place of Mahomed in the Universal Church, it must first be established, as far as possible, by what means he succeeded to discover, to impart, and promulgate among Arabians the genuine doctrine of Jesus the Messiah. In probable connection with Ebionites or anti-Paulinian Christians, and under special Divine guidance, Mahomed rejected the Essenic-Buddhistic doctrines which Paul had applied to Jesus Christ.

The people of Islam, in a probably near future, will take a much higher position in the civilized world than that which they at present occupy, if that education is granted them which is indirectly implied by the Koran, and without which no social, political, or religious progress is possible.

ERNEST DE BUNSEN.

* Dr. Leitner's Letter to *The Times* of Jan. 2, 1884.

THE KEY OF WESTERN CHINA.

IN these days of oft-recurring commercial depression—when the despairing wail for new markets is so loudly echoed on every side, that the everlasting dirge sounds like the solemn requiem of a commercial greatness, the glory of which is for ever vanished—it is passing strange that the energetic representatives of our Diplomatic Service in China, in their attempts to open up the splendid Western Provinces of the Empire, are so listlessly and languidly supported by those who have everything to gain from the unparalleled demand for our manufactures, to which easy and reliable access would soon give rise.

In the Chefoo Convention (finally ratified in 1886), and which we owe to the ability and energy of Sir Thomas Wade,* the Chinese Plenipotentiaries acceded to the request

* In this connection the following Dispatch, from Sir Thomas Wade to the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will be read with interest:—

"Sir Thomas Wade to Earl Granville.

"MY LORD,—I have much pleasure in laying before your Lordship a Report, prepared at my request by Mr. Spence, upon the trade of Chung-king as a port of import, and upon the capacity of the Great River between Ichang and Chung-king in respect of steam navigation.

"Chung-king, your Lordship is aware, was opened under peculiar conditions by the Chefoo Agreement. Our merchants were not to reside there until steamers should have ascended the river. My object in suggesting or acceding to this arrangement was to admit of the establishment of a regular Customs staff, before a British community should be invited to fix its residence at Chung-king. No steamer has as yet attempted the ascent of the river above what are known as the Ichang Gorges, the most enterprising having been deterred, as I have reason to think, by the suspicion that the rapids which succeed each other at long intervals for about one hundred miles above Ichang present an insurmountable difficulty. Mr. Baber, who resided at Chung-king for the four years after the appointment of an agent at Chung-king was conceded by the Chefoo Agreement, makes light of this

of the British Minister, that the Yang-tse port of Chung-king, the great commercial capital of the West, should be opened to foreign trade as soon as a steamer reached it. But unfortunately for our home manufacturers the opening to foreign commerce of a new port in China is not unfrequently regarded by the British firms there—who, naturally enough, perhaps, seem to have a melancholy pleasure in feasting their memories on the recollection of the royal profits of days now long gone by—as an unmitigated nuisance, involving, as it often does, outlay on their part and the maintenance of an expensive, and in the first instance unremunerative, branch establishment. On the other hand, it is self-evident that it is for the interest of the home manufacturer and shipper, as well as for the importer of Chinese merchandise that the whole Empire should be thrown open to foreign trade, but that being for the moment impracticable, we must content ourselves at present with the opening of important business centres such as Chung-king.

In dealing with Chung-king as the commercial key of Western China, it behoves us carefully to inquire into the question of the navigability and trade of the Upper Yang-tse, and also into the condition and resources of the Western Provinces and especially of Szechuen, the richest and most fertile of all.

When travelling in China, I made constant inquiries at the Treaty Ports on the coast relative to the navigability of the river beyond Ichang, but the question did not

difficulty. Mr. Spence's Report, which I have now the honour to forward, demonstrates, as I conceive, conclusively that the ascent of the river, though requiring special care, is in no sense impracticable.

"Of the ports opened by the Chefoo Agreement, I regard Chung-king as the one of greatest advantage to our trade. Since the Agency was placed there our imports have increased in value from £50,000 to considerably above £1,000,000. Mr. Spence's observations on this subject are most interesting.

"Your Lordship, I feel sure, will appreciate the value of Mr. Spence's Report.

"I have, &c.,
(Signed) "THOMAS FRANCIS WADE."

seem to have engaged the attention of any but a very small minority of the foreign merchants. The few, who had ever given it even a moment's thought, spoke in a vague manner of rapids of which they had dimly heard, but whether they were likely to prove a serious obstacle to steam navigation, no one seemed to have an idea. Definite and reliable information was not to be had on the eastern littoral, principally, I believe, because the mercantile community seldom extend their travels beyond a few days' shooting excursion from the Treaty Ports where they are located. To this general rule there is one great exception, viz., the annual exodus, at the opening of the tea season in May, from Shanghai and elsewhere to Hankow, on the Yang-tse, some seven hundred miles in the interior. Realizing the impossibility of gaining accurate information regarding the Upper Yang-tse at any of the Coast Ports, I resolved to make for Ichang, one of the last opened Treaty Ports, situated on the Great River, at a distance of 1,100 miles inland from Shanghai. And although the mercantile community was without a single representative at Ichang when I visited that port, I was enabled, through the kindness and courtesy of Her Majesty's Consul—the only consul resident in this outpost of European civilization—and of the British officials at the head of the Imperial Maritime Customs, to bring away with me information regarding the upper reaches of the river and its commerce, which completely satisfied the inquiries I had in vain made in the Eastern Provinces.

Time unfortunately failed me for a junk voyage as far as Chung-king, but my friends at Ichang arranged with a Chinese crew accustomed to the navigation beyond, to take me up the river through one or two of the gorges, so that I might have an opportunity of forming an opinion for myself on the all-important question of the practicability of steam navigation.

Of the majesty, of the grandeur, of the overwhelming solemnity and sublimity of the scenery on the Upper

Yang-tse no pen can ever convey even the most remote conception. The river above Ichang suddenly narrows in width to about 250 yards, and is shut in by perpendicular cliffs, so high that "the light itself is as darkness," and the eye momentarily expects to rest on the dread legend of the Divine Poet—

"Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate"
("All hope abandon ye who enter here")—

emblazoned on the blackness of dark overhanging rock or frowning precipice, round and in front of which the rapid but noiseless waters silently sweep, as if out of some abysmal chasm. Nothing is more impressive than the silence, as of universal death, which pervades these unearthly regions, a silence only broken and made more overpowering still by contrast with the sudden Pandemonium yell of a wildly gesticulating, stark-naked tracker, far up the cliff, whose pale skin stands out in bold relief against the blackness of that terrific wall of rock, along the face of which there creeps the narrow path. When the grass tracking line catches on some keen-edged rock, as it frequently does, a piercing shriek and howl of warning to the helmsman below, in one moment echoes and re-echoes, and again reverberates through the silence and the gloom. Then, the pathway is by no means continuous, and during the interruptions these naked savage-looking boatmen descend, crowd on board and pull us up against the current, by clutching with boat-hooks the rough face of the overhanging precipice. Their sudden infuriated bursts of mutual recrimination when we miss our hold and are swept rapidly and helplessly back, crunching and crashing against the rock, as the helmsman again steers the boat towards the grim wall for a new hold, do not serve to increase the comfort of our reflection that the river is here of unfathomable depth, and that the foundering of our poor little craft means certain though speedy death.

As we struggle on, the mighty Peak of Heaven bursts suddenly on our view, through a chiasm on the left, its defiant pinnacle seeming as if it almost pierced the sky and—but language fails, and I can but humbly quote against myself the reproof of that able diplomatist and elegant and felicitous writer, Mr. Colborne Baber, whose brilliant reports of his travels in Western China are, unfortunately for his countrymen, buried in the depths of Parliamentary Blue Books and in the supplements of the Royal Geographical Society's publications. I take the liberty of applying Mr. Baber's words to the Peak of Heaven and the gorges of the Yang-tse, though he refers to neither, but, if I remember aright, to Mount Wa, a wondrous giant staircase of Nature, or to that vision, still more dread, of the terrible Bridge of the Sun, as, in the twinkling of an eye, it flashed on his gaze, astonished, almost paralysed. He says, "Perhaps it is beyond compare. Some day the tourist will go there and compose 'fine English.' He could not choose a better place for a worse purpose. But if he is wiser than his kind, he will look, and wonder, and say little, and pass on."

Humboldt, I think it is, who somewhere says that "such scenes leave an impression on the memory that can never be effaced." Certainly the recollection of that awful panorama unfolded to the lonely wanderer by the God of Nature, in the gorges of the Yang-tse, far in the interior of China, will never fade, or be dimmed, or become effaced, from my memory.

But to recur to the more practical bearing of the gorges of the Yang-tse, viz., their navigability for steamers.

The distance between Ichang and Chung-king is slightly over four hundred miles, but the so-called difficulties in the way of steam navigation all occur in the first hundred miles after leaving Ichang, the last three hundred miles being plain sailing. It is most important that it should be clearly understood that the navigation

of the Upper Yang-tse is no new-fangled idea, for merchandise estimated at 300,000 tons annually even now passes up and down in large junks, many of them drawing five feet of water. These junks when proceeding on the upward voyage from Ichang to Chung-king are frequently observed discharging their cargoes as they arrive at the rapids—roughly speaking, each gorge may be said to be succeeded by a rapid—the cargoes being carried by coolies from the foot to the head of the rapid and there re-stowed. But on the *downward* voyage, when the junks are also deeply laden, they pass straight down to Ichang without discharging at all. And they accomplish this by simply steering in the centre of the channel. We have the high authority of Mr. Cooper, who travelled from Ichang to Chung-king in February, the lowest month of one of the driest seasons on record, for the statement, that he never found less than six feet of water in the central channel of the worst rapids. In ascending, however, the junks are *forced* over the rapids by the crew, frequently numbering two hundred, sometimes even three hundred hands, and cannot be worked in the deep central channel. - They are necessarily brought to the side, where the water is shallow, and dashes against and rushes over innumerable rocks, some—the more dangerous—sunk a foot or two beneath the surface, while the jagged tops of others pierce the water and stand out as a warning to the boatmen.

With steamers, on the other hand, it will be far different. For, not being dependent on trackers, but possessing the propelling power in themselves, they will not require to approach the dangerous shallows, but will ascend, steaming up in the deep central channel. If this point is once clearly realized, much of the seeming difficulty of the navigation at once disappears.

In regard to the navigability of the river for steamers, I formed an opinion which entirely coincided with that of the Custom officials at Ichang. But I prefer, as it will carry far more weight, to state my opinion in the words of those

who have thoroughly investigated, explored, and examined all the reaches of the Yang-tse which lie between Ichang and Chung-king, both in their shallowest condition in winter and during the summer and autumn freshets, when the river, swelled by the melting of Thibetan snows, rises in several of the more confined gorges as much as seventy feet above the winter level.

Mr. Colborne Baber, who was the first British official to reside at Chung-king, in all his reports makes light of the rapids as difficulties in the way of steam navigation. Mr. Spence, who succeeded Mr. Baber in the Consular Office, endorses the views of his predecessor in the following words :

"I have been up and down the rapids in Chinese junks at all seasons of the year—in the height of the summer freshet and at the lowest winter level—and I am firmly convinced of their practicability for small, handy, light-draught, full-powered steamers during nine months of the year without the aid of more than the ordinary methods of steam navigation. During the remaining three months the ordinary methods would require reinforcement. The effect of the summer floods is not to increase the difficulties of the rapids, but to obliterate them altogether, and the only season when, in my opinion, there would be any obstacle at all is the time of lowest water in the first quarter of the year."

And, after ably pleading for the steam navigation of the Upper Yang-tse, Mr. Spence concludes his statement of the case by asking the following pertinent question: "Is it credible that where the Chinese go in their unwieldy junks, we with our science and power cannot follow in steamers?"

A still more recent Consular Agent at Chung-king, Mr. Hosie, after fully discussing the question, puts the whole case in a nutshell in the following terse and convincing paragraph :

"If a boat drawing four feet can be dragged over the rapids by a hundred men and boys, half of whom merely shout and leave the pulling to the other half, what is there to prevent a steamer of special construction, of equal draught, and with a steam power exceeding the strength of half a hundred men and boys, from ascending?"

Captain Blakiston, who, with his three friends, were the first European explorers—excepting the able and learned Jesuit savants and propagandists—of the Upper Yang-tse, and who succeeded in reaching in their chartered junk the town of Pingshan, about three hundred miles beyond Chung-king and eighteen hundred from the coast, eventually reported favourably on the future before the steam navigation of the “River of Golden Sand,” even as far as Pingshan. Captain Blakiston surveyed the Yang-tse from the Tung-Ting Lake, a short distance above Hankow, to Pingshan, whence his party were forced to return on account of political disturbances. The invaluable chart of the Upper Yang-tse prepared by this gallant officer is a splendid monument of indomitable perseverance and unceasing toil, carried on under the most trying and unfavourable circumstances. Captain Blakiston’s final and favourable opinion was given long before there was the slightest chance of Chung-king being opened to foreign trade, but now that the Chinese Government has signified its willingness—on condition of steam navigation—to add it to the number of the Treaty Ports, Chung-king will almost certainly become the greatest commercial emporium of all with the exception of Shanghai; and I except Shanghai because through it merchandise for and from Chung-king and the Western Provinces must pass and be there transhipped.

But granting that the waters of the greatest commercial highway of China are navigable to powerful light draught steamers for eighteen hundred miles as far as Pingshan—Chung-king, however, being the destination aimed at just now—we are met at once by the important question of fuel and its cost. And it is a question of the utmost importance in the case of small shallow-draught vessels, powerfully engined, and therefore consuming a considerable amount of coal, and where consequently the space required to be set aside for bunkers must regulate and perhaps seriously cripple the cargo capacity. Again, the size of the bunkers will depend on the further question whether or no sufficient

fuel must be taken in at Ichang to suffice for the round voyage to Chung-king and back, about eight hundred miles. Further, the financial success of the enterprize might turn not only on the rates of freight and on the room available for cargo, but also on the cost of the fuel, which will certainly prove excessive if it must be brought from Kaiping *viâ* Tientsin or from Japan, say sixteen hundred miles, possibly involving two transshipments, and at, for the river portion of the voyage, a very high rate of freight.

Now I frankly confess that when the coal problem, considered in its twofold aspect of cost and requisite bunker capacity, first crossed my mind I did not feel at all sure but that that question, rather than the question of the navigability of the river, might prove the straw which would break the camel's back. But my fears proved groundless. For in regard to the geological formation of the country near Ichang we have the authority of that second Humboldt, the Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, the result of whose scientific researches and travels in China are of immense value—we have his authority for the statement that the coal-fields of Szechuen are among the most extensive and valuable in the world. Ichang, be it noted, is in the province of Hoopoh, but not far from the Szechuen border, and coal in abundance is found a few miles up the Yang-tse from Ichang, the mines penetrating the cliffs of the gorges in long galleries, whence the coal is lowered into junks on the river. This coal, I was informed by the captain of the small twin-screw steamer in which I made the voyage from Hankow to Ichang, he had on one or two occasions bought at the latter town for three taels, or at the present rate of exchange, about 13s. per ton, and he spoke in the highest terms of its steaming qualities in comparison with the Japanese coal, of which at much greater cost and serious sacrifice of cargo capacity, he was generally compelled to lay in a stock at Hankow sufficient for the round voyage of eight hundred miles from Hankow to Ichang and back. He was compelled to do this inasmuch as he could not

rely with certainty on junk arrivals from the coal gorges when a supply was required. But with steamers plying on the river above Ichang this would be all changed.

It is also extremely satisfactory to know that good coal is found all along the river route from Ichang to Chung-king, and notably in close proximity to the town of Kweichow, about 150 miles above Ichang. This is even a more important point than it may at first sight seem, because, as I have already explained, in the case of shallow-draught steamers with powerful engines necessitating a heavy consumption of coal, the fact that bunkers can be replenished at Kweichow at a cost of 10s. per ton, soon after the passage of the rapids on the upward voyage, will permit of a much larger cargo being carried to Chung-king than would have been possible had steamers been compelled to fill their bunkers at Ichang for the round voyage of eight hundred miles to Chung-king and back. Thus, a steamer leaving Ichang, would take in there only sufficient coal to enable her to reach Kweichow, about fifty miles beyond the last of the rapids. On the downward voyage, when the strong current will itself do a considerable proportion of the work of propulsion, and when consequently much less coal will be required, steamers will take sufficient for the downward voyage at Chung-king, whither coal in unlimited quantity, and at a cost of 7s. per ton, is floated down the Kialing river, a mighty tributary of the Yang-tse, which bisects the town of Chung-king. It is perhaps hardly necessary to draw attention to the fact that on the downward voyage during the three hundred miles between Chung-king and the point where the shallower reaches of the river begin, the steamer would be lightened by the consumption of all the coal except what might be necessary for the remaining one hundred miles through the gorges and rapids to Ichang.

I may state that at Hankow coal arrives from a point on a navigable river in the province of Kwei-chow (which has no connection with the Szechuen city mentioned above)

beyond the great Tung-Ting Lake, whose waters flow into the Yang-tse, but the supply cannot be relied on, and I was unable to discover whether the coal from the province of Kwei-chow is or is not good steam fuel. At any rate, Japanese or Kaiping coal is at present used in the river boats running between Hankow and Shanghai.

Having now discussed the question of the navigability of the Yang-tse between Ichang and Chung-king, and also the question of the coal supply and cost thereof, we may turn with advantage for a little to the town of Chung-king itself.

The Yang-tse, in its approximately westward course after leaving Thibet, may be roughly said to divide China Proper into two equal parts, while vast navigable tributaries running north and south are the subsidiary arteries through which beat the mighty pulsations of the colossal internal commerce of the empire as it radiates to and from the great central channel. These arteries are themselves fed by innumerable smaller but still navigable tributaries, and it is this marvellous network of water highways, intersecting in every direction the richest and most fertile provinces, which lends to a map of China its labyrinthine appearance.

Shanghai is the commercial key of the Eastern Yang-tse Provinces, Hankow of the central, and Chung-king of the western, more especially of Szechuen, the richest of all, a territory in itself nearly as large as France, and with a population which has been estimated as high as 70,000,000. Whatever be the actual population, it is known that Szechuen is one of the most densely peopled provinces, and that there is little of that poverty which is so striking a feature in some parts of China. And there is no mention of famine, that angel of destruction which is reported to be raging elsewhere, having at all affected the fortune-favoured land of Szechuen.

We are apt to forget, when glibly talking of the eighteen provinces of China Proper, that no inconsiderable number of these, as regards size, mineral and agricultural resources,

and quality and quantity of population, may rank with many of the great European Powers. In other respects, of course, such as scientific and technical knowledge, they are nowhere. But the foundation—sure and solid—on which to build is there.

Shanghai and Hankow must be ruled outside the pale of the present article, but I may be permitted to point to this significant and suggestive fact, that within a few years of the opening to foreign commerce of Hankow the key of the Central Yang-tse Provinces, the trade of Shanghai *more than quadrupled* in value, and that, too, in spite of the disastrous effects of the Taiping rebellion which had devastated—nay, depopulated, the word is not a whit too strong—enormous tracts of rich and fertile country. Be it noted that Szechuen almost entirely escaped the desolation and destruction caused by both the Taiping and Mahomedan rebellions, which latter reduced the population of Yunnan, that magnificent mine of mineral wealth from 16,000,000 to 4,000,000!

With such a precedent before us in regard to the expansion of the commerce of Shanghai, caused by the opening of Hankow, our capitalists, merchants, and manufacturers may well ask themselves, "What will be the effect on our commerce of the opening of Chung-king?"—the Liverpool of China as it has well been called.

Second only in political importance to Chêng-tu, the capital of Szechuen and the residence of the Viceroy, Chung-king, considered as a base of operations, when scanned with the eagle glance of the keen strategist of commerce, must be admitted to occupy a mercantile position, than which it is well-nigh impossible to conceive one more commanding and of greater impregnable commercial strength. The merchants and great private bankers of Chung-king are reputed among the wealthiest in the Empire, the Province of Szechuen itself the richest.* The town

* To some it may be rather an astonishing revelation to be told that the science and practice of banking in China is carried to so high a

itself is in easy water communication with all parts of the vast territory of which it is the commercial capital and key. The Min flowing into the Yang-tse some 240 miles above Chung-king is the high-road for large and heavily laden junks to Chéng-tu. The noble Kialing, with its tributaries, the commercial highway of Central and Northern Szechuen, cuts the town of Chung-king in two as it enters the Yang-tse, while innumerable other water

standard of perfection that a traveller, starting from a Treaty Port, can procure from any of the important native private banks, perfectly reliable letters of credit for any amount on their agents or correspondents in almost every town of importance in China, no matter whether the distance be measured by hundreds or thousands of miles. Captain Gull, R.E., gives some curious and interesting information on this point. As an instance of commercial stability of banking firms in China, I remember being informed on my southward journey from Peking, that a large private bank in the capital had failed, the records of which extended back for upwards of one thousand years! It would be difficult, of course, to guarantee the accuracy of this statement, but I had no reason to doubt the information of my European informant. If authentic, it is probable that the above forms an exceptional case, as it is certainly by no means an uncommon occurrence for Chinese banks to come to grief, especially in times of widespread speculation or political disturbance. It is not, however, a very rare occurrence for the receiver of a string of Chinese copper cash—about 1,100 of which go to the dollar—if a Sinologue, to discover individual coins dating from a period long prior to the Christian era. The coins themselves bear no date, but their age is fixed by the Chinese characters representing the name of the reigning emperor. Bank notes are met with everywhere, but they are accepted only in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of issue. The traveller in the interior, therefore, provides himself, in exchange for his letters of credit, with "sycee," *i.e.*, ingots of silver or "shoes," as they are called from their shape. Accounts are paid by their equivalent in weight of silver which is cut off the "shoe." But the payment of a bill is by no means so simple a matter as at first sight it would appear to be. With an ingenuity peculiarly Chinese, the local silver standard of fineness is made to vary at each important town. To the Oriental, who invariably acts as if time were synonymous with eternity, a charming factor of complexity and a delicious bone of contention is thus introduced. To the "barbarian" this interminable loss on exchange (for somehow the silver "shoes" of the traveller are always discovered to contain more alloy than is consistent with the high standard of monetary fineness and celestial morality of the town which he honours with his presence) is an endless source of annoyance and delay. If any man should ever desire to put to the proof his command and mastery over an irritable, impatient, imperious, and domineering temper, let him travel in the interior of China and act as his own cashier.

highways radiate through the fortune-favoured territory commanded by Chung-king. Here are gathered together the products of the Western Yang-tse Provinces. Here imports and exports converge for distribution. So much is this the case that goods intended for the market of Wansien (an important commercial centre situated on the Yang-tse, one hundred miles below Chung-king), are all carried past it up to the great central entrepôt, pay the additional upward freight between Wansien and Chung-king, the downward freight to Wansien and a Likin tax—in the case of native goods, which are not protected by Transit Pass, an *upward* as well as a downward Likin. The relation of Chung-king as a collector from and distributor to Western China may be compared to that of London to Europe prior to the opening of the Suez Canal. And when Chung-king takes its place as a Treaty Port open to foreign trade, *i.e.*, the moment it has been reached by steamer, it is not unlikely that a considerable proportion of the merchandise which finds its way by the Sikiang *via* Canton into and from Yunnan will be diverted to the Yang-tse route as the more expeditious of the two, at least until the Sikiang is open to steam navigation, or a railway across the Chinese frontier, either from Burmah or Siam, be pushed up from the south. Such a railway will undoubtedly tap and carry off the trade with South-western Yunnan. As, therefore, the trade diversion from the Sikiang to the Yang-tse, as far as South-western Yunnan is concerned, will probably be only temporary in its nature, I prefer to attach little importance to it. But I may mention that Mr. Colborne Baber, when travelling in Northern Yunnan, lighted on the richest silver and copper mines of that extraordinary province, almost on the banks of the Yang-tse, which for part of its course forms the dividing line between Yunnan and Szechuen. Now, though it is undeniable that the great mineral wealth of Yunnan lies in the south-western division of that province, and, owing to the mountainous and difficult country which intervenes between the Yang-tse and the

great mineral district, can only be properly reached and developed by a trunk line of railway approaching from the south, there is no saying to what extent these mines, situated in Northern Yunnan near the Yang-tse beyond Chung-king, may contribute to the future commerce of the "River of the Golden Sand."

But Chung-king founds her title to commercial greatness, present and future, not upon Yunnan, but upon her position as the key of the Provinces of Kweichow, Kansuh, Shensi, and Szechuen, the latter province alone being sufficient to ensure for Chung-king her future position as one of the greatest markets in the world.

But it may be urged, with at first sight a considerable show of reason, that putting aside for the moment the immense development of commerce, both local and foreign, which will ensue from the steam navigation of the Upper Yang-tse, it may be urged, I repeat, that as far as our present commerce with the Western Provinces is concerned, it is fully protected and amply provided for by the existence of the Transit Pass, which frees it from all Likin extortion.* Unfortunately, however, the exigencies and peculiarities of the Chung-king trade are not met by the Transit Pass—and for this reason. Itself a city with a population of a quarter of a million, and the seat (to the exclusion of Chêng-tu) of the Government Finance Department of Western China, it is to Chung-king that merchants from all directions congregate to buy and sell. Chung-king is a perpetual Nishni-Novgorod. It is the one great market and distributing centre. But the Transit Pass only protects foreign merchandise registered from a given Treaty Port to a given specified destination, or native merchandise such as silk or tea when intended for export on its way to a specified Treaty Port. The final destination, however, of foreign merchandise, such as piece goods, &c., sent to Chung-king is *not* Chung-king,

* For an explanation of the Transit Pass regulations, their value as an alleviation to foreign trade and their inherent defects, see the article "The March of the Mongol" in the January number of this Review.

but the legion of smaller though still extremely important mercantile centres, consuming and distributing, scattered all over Western China, and which are themselves supplied, according to their necessities, from the great central market on the Yang-tse. It is the rarest possible occurrence for an order to be sent to any of the Treaty Ports from one of the interior cities of the Western Provinces. Chinese merchants look to buying and selecting their goods at Chung-king.

The present position of our commerce with Western China is consequently this. Our manufactures reach Chung-king under Transit Pass on payment of the Treaty Port 5 per cent. *ad valorem* entry duty, and the further Transit Tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., *i.e.*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in all. But all merchandise, including foreign imports, on leaving Chung-king for their ultimate destination, are at once pounced upon and mulcted in extortionate fines by the Likin officials thronging all the trade routes which radiate from the commercial metropolis of the West. The cost to the Chinese consumer is therefore vastly enhanced.

But the moment we have steamers plying to Chung-king, by our Treaty rights we are entitled to run our manufactures and exports of every description right up to this great market on the payment of a 5 per cent. duty only. At present, as I have just shown, our merchandise reaches Chung-king under Transit Pass after having paid a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the duty, though no doubt a leverage in favour of our home manufacturers and exporters, is as nothing when compared with the incalculably greater gain which will accrue to them, when, with Chung-king declared a Treaty Port and reached by steamers, we shall be in a position to grant the protection of the Transit Pass—a protection which will then *begin* instead of *end* at Chung-king—to the army of Chinese merchants who congregate there from all parts of the West, for the purpose of laying in stocks for sale in their own provincial markets. At present our merchandise begins to

be mulcted by insatiable Likin officials the moment it leaves Chung-king, so that by the time it reaches its destination, the Chinese merchant has to recoup himself by enormous charges to the buyer; charges which doubtless place foreign manufactures beyond the reach of countless millions; charges which act in the same way as a Protective tariff, fostering native manufactures to the exclusion of the foreign article.

With Chung-king a Treaty Port, foreign manufactures will be free to pass to their respective specified destinations all over Western China on the simple payment of 2½ per cent. Transit Tax in addition to the 5 per cent. duty paid at Shanghai, the port of entry. Surely this fact only requires to be grasped by those most interested, viz., our home manufacturers and exporters and the pioneers of steam navigation on the Upper Yang-tse, for them to realize the vital importance which the change will produce in the demand from Western China.

But though the advent of steamers on the Upper Yang-tse will produce a greatly increased demand for our home manufactures in wealthy and populous Szechuen—not to speak of the other Western Provinces—that advent will act as even a greater stimulus to the already large local commerce. There are twelve Likin stations, or "barriers," between Ichang and Chung-king, at each one of which native produce and manufactures are subjected to the irritating and extortionate demands of rapacious officials, and more especially at the important "barrier" of Kweichow, which Customs station recently stood, in native clearances and receipts, second to Canton for the amount of tax, toll, and "squeeze" levied upon commerce. But so soon as steamers plough the waters of the Upper Yang-tse, the malign influence of these "barriers" will cease, inasmuch as the Likin officials have no power to tax merchandise—foreign or native—protected by a foreign flag. And that the Chinese merchants will take advantage of steamer carriage there cannot be any doubt. As a matter of fact

the people of Chung-king, merchants, bankers, every one except the officials the junk-owners and their crews, are clamorous for steamers. And it will not be long before the latter class—the junk crews—realize, as they have done elsewhere, that steamers will provide them with far more settled and continuous employment, as well as higher wages, than the precarious livelihood they earn at present.

What merchant will ship his goods by junk, subject to endless and unknowable extortion, when he is aware that the simple fact of his property being stowed on board a steamer frees him from all further trouble, loss, and anxiety? Are we not justified in concluding that the certainty and punctuality of arrival, the cheapening of merchandise to the consumer, due at once to lower freight and freedom from Likin exaction, the shortening of the time consumed in the voyage of four hundred miles between Ichang and Chung-king from one and sometimes two months' duration, according to circumstances, to a few days, with the consequent proportionate rapidity of turn over—will create an immense additional demand, a demand which will be increased by the reflex action of the facility for exporting the innumerable products of Szechuen to the Eastern Provinces, conferring an increased power of buying in return?

It has been ascertained by careful inquiry at Ichang, that the junk-borne commerce passing up and down the Yang-tse between Ichang and Chung-king, amounts approximately to 300,000 tons per annum. Let it be remembered that this trade is carried on in spite of the difficulties and obstruction it meets with at the hands of nature and of man, difficulties and obstructions which will vanish before steam.

The reports of losses on the river have, however, even in the case of junks, been greatly exaggerated. Careful estimates prepared at Ichang show that the loss on the junk-borne commerce does not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, on the value of the merchandise carried. All freight is paid in advance,

and is not recoverable from the junk-owner in case of loss of cargo. In the case of junks, insurance is non-existent, but the junk-owner is relieved from all responsibility for loss of cargo, the Chinese law being that the shipper takes the risk on his own shoulders.

The junk crews are paid at the rate of one dollar each per month for the upward voyage and found in food. For the downward voyage they receive no wages at all, but are found in rice. This return voyage, however, only occupies from four to ten days, according to the state of the river and delay at the Likin "barriers."

As to freight, the ordinary rate between Ichang and Chung-king is about seventy shillings (£3 10s.) per ton. I need scarcely point out that even should it be considered advisable and politic to greatly reduce this rate, there will still be room for a very large margin of profit for steamers, while the trade would be almost entirely diverted to the new mode of transit, if for no other reasons than the greater safety of steamer carriage, and the avoidance of loss of interest on capital involved in the long, perilous junk voyage. The current rate of interest in Szechuen is on deposits in the Chinese banks 12 per cent. per annum. It is stated by a member of the Consular Corps in China, that Manchester piece goods are charged for carriage between Ichang and Chung-king, at the rate of from 10s. 9d. to 12s. 6d. per 1½ cwt., that is to say, from £7 3s. 4d. to £8 6s. 8d. per ton! I recollect observing at Ichang the huge bales of Manchester goods being broken up into handy parcels to meet the exigencies of the coolie transport at the rapids, where the junk cargoes are discharged in order to lighten the draught and facilitate the process of towing. The annoyance, injury, delay, and expense involved in the breaking up of these hydraulic-pressed bales, and in the destructive effect of constant Likin examination, will be altogether avoided by steamer transit. Powerful engines will supplant the trackers, and enable the steamer to keep to the deep mid-channel, which tracking renders impossible to the junk.

Turning now briefly to Szechuen, considered with reference to its condition, productions, and resources, we find that the richness and fertility of the soil enables that province to produce most things in demand in the Eastern Provinces, with the important exception—let our Manchester piece goods and Bombay yarn manufacturers note this well and ponder on its significance for them—of cotton, which is at present imported from the Eastern Provinces in a raw state, and woven into the rough native cloth in Szechuen itself. Hemp, rice, millet, tobacco, sugar, silk, white wax, drugs (a most important item of commerce in China), and opium in ever-increasing quantity are raised, produced, and exported. Tea, partaking of the nature of that grown in Assam, is also largely produced. About 10,000,000 lbs. are annually sent into Thibet *viâ* Ta-chien-lu and Batang.

In mineral as well as in agricultural resources Szechuen is surpassingly rich, containing as it does, according to that great scientific explorer, Richthofen, the largest coalfield in the world; while from the Yang-tse native workmen are seen smelting the iron ore which abounds. Lead also is largely found, and the fire springs of Szechuen are renowned, the inflammable natural gas which escapes from the earth being occasionally utilized by the Chinese to evaporate the brine as it forces itself or is pumped out of neighbouring wells. The resultant salt is an imperial monopoly, and forms a valuable export to the Eastern Provinces. The entire native copper supply of the Empire is exported *viâ* Chung-king, while one of the great goldfields of China—lying principally between Atenze and Weiseo, and bordering on the Yang-tse, there suggestively named the River of Golden Sand—may, from all accounts, develop into an El Dorado, capable of rivalling or surpassing the goldfields of California and Australia. As Mr. Consul Spence tersely puts it: "Szechuen is, in the variety of its productions, its numerous industries, and the well-being and prosperity of its people, without an equal in the provinces of China."

But the magnificent Western Provinces are practically

sealed to European enterprise, until Chung-king, the key, is placed in easy and reliable steam communication with the Eastern Provinces.

It will be reckoned a descent from a contemplation of the splendid resources of the Western Provinces of China, and from an attempt, however feeble, to foreshadow the tremendous impetus which British commerce will receive from the establishment of steam communication with Chung-king—it will be reckoned a descent, doubtless, to deal with the financial prospects of any particular undertaking. But as the instrument by which these Provinces are to be opened is the steam navigation of the Upper Yang-tse, I may be permitted to indicate a peculiar reason why there is a possibility of the first steamer which reaches Chung-king, and consequently makes the navigation of the Upper Yang-tse *un fait accompli*, not proving a success from a dividend point of view.

I believe I do not libel our great ship-owning community at home and abroad—not excluding the Far East—in asserting that there exist among the more powerful of them combinations known as "Conferences," "Shipping Rings," &c., the aim being to crush the "weaker vessels" among their brethren, and by the well-understood and effectual process of lowering rates of freight to a ruination level and by returns of freight, to render competition on the part of these "weaker vessels" suicidal, and thus eventually to maintain high rates of freight and establish a powerful monopoly. It is not intended here to express any opinion as to the righteousness or legality of such proceedings, or to indicate any dissent from the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Some of these monopolists, however, may be not a little surprised, when in regard to their own procedure they are confronted with the old, old story in the words of the Wise Man, "There is nothing new under the sun." As is the custom of the West, so is the custom of the East. We have our "Shipping Rings." The Chinese have their "Junk Rings." And powerful combinations

they are. The junk-owners are naturally enough far from stretching out the right hand of welcome to steamers on the Upper Yang-tse. On the contrary, they will do all in their power to make the pioneer steamer a financial failure. Blame them, we cannot.

Should the junk-owners believe in their power to boycott the pioneer steamer, their mode of operation—seeing that they cannot compete with a steamer for economy of carriage—will differ somewhat from the lines on which the European ship-owning strategists plan their campaigns. They will offer battle as follows. The junk-owners will notify the Chinese merchants that they will not carry the goods of any merchant who may patronize the steamer. If a fleet of steamers existed instead of only one, the merchants could then afford to ignore the threats of the junk-owners. Where there is but one the case is different, and the junk-owners may possibly succeed in boycotting a single steamer. If they do, let not the owners of the pioneer steamer be discouraged. The facts will be misrepresented and misunderstood. It will be given out by members of that large and influential class of people who look only on the surface, that native merchants prefer junk to steamer carriage, the real truth being that the moment they can count on a sufficient and regular steamer service, the junk-owners will go to the wall. A company on the Upper Yang-tse to be financially successful must possess not one steamer, but a fleet.

And is the prize not worth the grasping? Be it remembered the steam navigation of the Upper Yang-tse is but the thin end of the wedge; it is but the earnest of a gigantic enterprise for the navigation of all the great navigable tributaries of the Yang-tse in Central and Western China. Referring to the country beyond Chung-king Mr. Spence writes :—

"We shall find to the north, north-west, and west, hundreds of miles of great waters, whose navigation by steamers will be sought for by the Chinese themselves once they have seen steamers come up the Great River from

Ichang. And everywhere in Eastern Szechuen, at least, we shall find a large population of active, industrious, well-to-do people, able to buy and having much to sell."

As matters stand at present, Szechuen exports to the eastward merchandise valued at £10,000,000 per annum. The Company which navigates the Yang-tse from Hankow upwards commands the situation in a campaign for further mighty but peaceful conquests in the domain of commerce. There is the Han River which taps the richest tea districts in China, the main stream alone navigable for one thousand miles northward from Hankow. There is the huge Tung-Ting Lake with its innumerable navigable feeders stretching out from it like the limbs of an enormous octopus. There is the noble Kialing flowing into the Yang-tse at Chung-king. There is the Min which joins the Yang-tse some distance above Chung-king, and forms one of the great water highways to Chêng-tu, the political capital of Szechuen; and there is the Yang-tse itself, navigable for three hundred miles, at least, beyond Chung-king. But a regard for the value of space forbids me doing aught save indicate the names of a few of those rivers whose waters will ere long be ploughed by the enterprise of the Company which commands the trade between Hankow and Chung-king. The commerce colossal, the prospect surely sufficiently magnificent to fire the enthusiast and stimulate the ambition of the most callous capitalist. And yet with a mockery sad to contemplate, in its disregard of balance and proportionate importance, the tinsel attractions of some rotten mining enterprise will doubtless be deemed infinitely superior by the average British investor.

As to our merchants resident in China, they have hitherto displayed an apathy which can only be accounted for by a want of energy in travelling and seeing for themselves. And their apathy is clearly indicated by the fact that the few steamers now running between Hankow and Ichang are neither sufficient nor specially adapted for the trade. Only one little craft is so constructed as to be able to run on the

river all the year through between Hankow and Ichang. The constant cry from Ichang is for more tonnage and suitable tonnage, but it is the cry of one crying in the wilderness, systematically ignored and disregarded. Mr. Morgan, the acting Commissioner of Customs at Ichang, writes as follows :—

"On the steamer line now open there is plenty of scope for energy and enterprise, and shippers would hail the advent of more suitable vessels. As things are now, when the time of shallow water comes, the steamers have sometimes to leave the bulk of their cargo behind, and then take six days to creep up the four hundred miles from Hankow to this place. Both the *Kiangtung* and *Y-ling* continued running last year up to the end of December, but during that month were quite unable to carry the amount of freight offering, owing to the too great draught of the larger steamer and the too limited cargo space of the smaller one. As one instance of my meaning, I may mention that on the 15th of December 5000 piculs (670,000 lbs.) of tribute copper arrived at Ichang from Yunnan, and that at the time I am writing this (January, 1887) over 4000 piculs (530,000 lbs.) remain here because the steamers are only able to take it away in small lots of 200 piculs or 300 piculs at a time. As another instance, there was the case of the *Kiangtung*, on one trip being obliged to leave in Hankow more than twice as much cargo as she could bring up here, on account of her drawing too much water. She loaded to 6 feet, and then had to refuse the rest. Both in goods and passengers, traffic would be largely increased by the advent of a couple of fast light-draught vessels on the line. They should not draw more than 5½ feet of water with a full cargo, and should have great speed, so as to make the most of the limited daylight at these times when running at night is next to impossible. Without the aid of such vessels the carrying trade on this part of the Yang-tse, *i.e.*, between Hankow and Ichang, cannot be expected to develop properly."

And Mr. Morgan's words are every whit as applicable now as they were in 1887. It seems as if our great merchants in Shanghai and the other ports in the Eastern Provinces cannot spare time to think of the West, that magnificent market anxiously awaiting the electric stimulus of foreign enterprise. The native mercantile community has expressed its intense desire for the steam navigation of the Upper Yang-tse beyond Ichang. But the Chinese themselves will not originate the enterprise for the simple reason that the mandarins would make it impossible to successfully carry on such an undertaking. Over foreigners they have no jurisdiction or power. The fearless, soldierly

ring of the grand old heraldic legend of the Douglas family, *Jamais Arrière*, ought to be the spirit which should regulate the commercial policy of Great Britain in the endeavour to increase her influence in China whenever an opening occurs.

I think we frequently fail to realize the difference between the future development of a country like China, and other rich and fertile lands such as Burmah, Mexico, the Western States of America, the Argentine Republic, &c., of which we hear so much, and which are all undoubtedly rapidly going ahead. But in these countries the population, notwithstanding constant immigration, is utterly insufficient for development commensurate with their resources. The state of Colorado, for instance, which is reckoned one of the richest and most promising in the United States, can only boast a population of 500,000. In Szechuen, about the same size as Colorado, we have a population which has been estimated by some authorities to exceed 70,000,000, and these a well-to-do, thrifty, and commercial people.

I may mention that the mandarins, as an order, possess far less influence over the people, and wield far less power in Szechuen than in other provinces, and the natural consequence is that the people are much more friendly to foreigners. "Yang-Kweitzu" or "Foreign Devil"—an epithet with which one is frequently assailed in the Central and Eastern Provinces—gives place in Szechuen to the more agreeable salutation of "Yang-Ta-jen" or "Foreign Excellency," a greeting one soon learns to acknowledge with a somewhat less constrained bow, and with more grace and self-complacency than the flattering reference to diabolical origin and nature contained in the former epithet, for which we have to thank the teaching of the Provincial Officials.

To sum up, then, the argument in favour of the opening of the Western Provinces by means of the steam navigation of the Upper Yang-tse, we have, first, the strongly

emphasized assertions of almost every traveller capable of forming an opinion, as to the perfect navigability of the river for powerfully engined and properly constructed steamers, between Ichang and Chung-king, and even as far as Pingshan, about three hundred miles beyond Chung-king. As I write I learn that a steam launch has successfully negotiated, both up and down, the two most dreaded rapids. We have, secondly, the earnestly expressed desire of the great native bankers and merchant princes of Chung-king for the advent of steam navigation. We know, thirdly, that the Yang-tse is the principal commercial highway of China, through the richest and most populous provinces of the Empire, and that Szechuen, the finest and wealthiest of all, is at present, owing to the absence of steam communication, a sealed book to European energy. We know, fourthly, that the local native commerce is great, and we can conceive, or perhaps we cannot conceive, the immense development of commerce which steamers will create and the vastly increased demand for our own manufactures and exports which the opening of Chung-king will inaugurate—a demand which will increase in proportion to the facility of communication and the freedom from Likin extortion.

As for the financial prospects of a powerful Flotilla Company on the Upper Yang-tse I would point to the success of a similar undertaking, the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, to whose energetic and enterprising managers we are largely indebted for the opening up and developing of Burmah. The business public, but especially the fortunate shareholders, are well aware what a powerful and successful scheme the Irrawaddy Company has turned out, though it, too, like everything else, had its early difficulties to contend against. The Irrawaddy Company ministers to the wants of a population estimated at 7,000,000. The population of Szechuen alone, be it noted, has been estimated at over 70,000,000. But if it were only half that figure it would be equal to the population of all Japan or of a first-rate European Power. The actual wealth and prosperity is

already great, the potential wealth and prosperity incalculable.

One small steamer has at last been built for the Ichang Chung-king trade. It has met with annoying delay in the grant of a permit, due, I believe, to the jealous action of the Provincial authorities, who have doubtless brought every possible argument to bear on the Central Government. But the Chefoo Convention is not a myth, and the steamer is at Ichang. It will therefore be impossible for the Provincial authorities to delay much longer the progress of the *Kuling*.

All honour to that dauntless little band who, in spite of the freezing coldness of our Chambers of Commerce, have come forward and supplied the necessary sinews of war. If the *Kuling* reach Chung-king it will be irrefragable proof of the navigability of the Upper Yang-tse. But failure to reach Chung-king—and rumour points to a deficiency in engine power—must not be held to prove the reverse. In reality failure would prove nothing beyond indicating faulty design or careless navigation, both of which causes carry their cure in the lessons of experience. If the attempt is persevered in ultimate success is certain. Again I would clinch the argument in the words of Mr. Consul Spence, who resided at Chung-king: "Is it credible that where the Chinese go in their unwieldy junks, we cannot follow, with our knowledge and our science, in steamers?" Would that something could be done to galvanize the torpid energies of people at home, that the veil might be lifted from their eyes, that the lightning flash would illumine their minds in regard to the enormous commercial interests we have at stake in Western China, and reveal to them that in a persevering attempt to enrich themselves they will bring increased employment to hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of our own working classes!

There be some super-refined persons who profess to sneer at a commercial career as a vulgar occupation and altogether beneath their notice. Ah, but they miss the

mark! For the destiny of the educated and enterprising man of business is something higher far than that of a mere money-grubber. And it has always seemed to the writer that the calling of the Pioneer of Commerce is a calling higher than that of most men. For is it not a high aim and a noble ambition, the endeavour to inaugurate the advent of civilization by means of commerce, conferring, as it will in the present instance, a reflex benefit, alike upon producers and consumers, British and Chinese? In Western China the names of Augustus Raymond Margary, William Gill, Henry Cooper, Henry Grosvenor, Thomas Blakiston, Edward Colborne Baber, Ferdinand Von Richthofen, Archibald Little, &c., will each occupy an honourable niche in the Pantheon of the Pioneers of Commerce. Three of these, Margary near Momein in Yunnan, Cooper at Bhamo in Burmah, Gill in Arabia, have won the martyr's crown, having met their death at the treacherous hands of the cowardly assassin.

The old Crusades of Chivalry were noble both in their origin and their aim. But they had the advantage of the soul-stirring advocacy of the most eloquent orators of the time. The opening of the Western Provinces of China, that grand Crusade of Commerce is sadly in want of the burning eloquence of some Peter the Hermit to galvanize the enterprise of the apathetic capitalist and electrify his nerves, paralysed and benumbed as these are by the thought of a distance of fifteen thousand miles. And yet it is impossible but to hope that some great British capitalists will realize before it is too late—altogether apart from the brilliant financial prospects which the scheme holds out—that it is not only their duty, but their high privilege to see that the attempt to open up the Western Provinces of China shall not fail for want of the necessary funds to give it due chance of success.

It is very far from the wish of the writer to say one word in favour of, or apology for, rash speculation, an incurable malady begotten of that insane possession of the

devil—the hasting to be rich—which in our time works the ruin of so many a promising career. But let us, at the same time remember, that that huge fabric, the commercial glory and supremacy of Great Britain, has not been built up by the action of those craven hearts whose acme of happiness, whose Nirvana of existence is 3 per cent., who shake their heads at 4 per cent., quake at 5, shiver at the suggestion of 6, and almost die at the thought of 7. At the mere mention of a scheme involving commercial possibilities so gigantic, that before the thought of these possibilities even the imagination pales and grows dim, the creatures described above will only tremblingly finger their Consol Scrip as the miser convulsively clutches his gold.

But it is not to such that the writer addresses himself. Rather is it to that embodiment of indomitable perseverance, invincible pluck, and fearless energy which has in the past at least, won for Great Britain her proud position as Queen of Commerce. But delay is fatal. Now is the time. An inch *gained* now is miles in the future. An inch *lost* now is miles hereafter. If we elect to spurn our privileges and opportunities in Western China, other nations, such as Germany, will step in, and we shall then find to our chagrin that our short-sighted indifference has only naturally resulted in our being left out in the cold, far behind in the race, miserably bringing up the rear instead of leading as we have so often done before, not the forlorn hope, but the conquering and irresistible vanguard of the great Army of Progress.

A commercial friendship and close business relationship with the vast Empire of the Far East is of scarcely less importance to us as a nation than a firmly-knit political alliance. As to the latter, we are in China confronted with no ordinary moribund Eastern Power, but with a mighty awakening nation, ruled by a Government of extraordinary persistency, strength, and solidity. That an Anglo-Chinese Alliance is no mere visionary chimera or shallow, superficial theory of the writer is, I think, abundantly proved by the opinions held by those most capable of

coming to a correct estimate as to the value of such an alliance. Mr. Demetrius Boulger who has long advocated an Anglo-Chinese Alliance, in the January number of *The National Review*, marshals the arguments in almost irrefutable array. Sir Rutherford Alcock, our late distinguished Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking, to whom the Chinese and all civilized Powers trading with China owe an undying debt of gratitude for having originated the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, referring to the article "The March of the Mongol," in the January number of this Review, writes me as follows, and he has kindly accorded me permission to quote his words :

"As to the future place of China in the comity of nations I share with you the belief that it will be great, and with reference to this, the true policy of England and China alike is, in my opinion, to cement a close alliance for mutual safety as against Russia and France also, after recent experience in respect to the latter. England would be a safeguard for the Chinese coast against foreign aggression by a naval power, while China on the Russian flank in Central Asia, with endless forces at command, would seriously hamper any Russian advance in that direction, or towards India more especially and Thibet."

With testimony such as this in favour of an Anglo-Chinese Alliance is it too much to hope that Britain and China will in time of peace advance hand in hand in the march of progress, mutually aiding each other in the development of the two magnificent Empires, which own their sovereignty? And if, in spite of the powerful guarantee of peace such an alliance would hold out, that terrific struggle which hangs over our heads like a nightmare cannot be averted, then may we see the armies of the Lion and the armies of the Dragon fighting shoulder to shoulder and back to back, for weal or for woe.

China, too, let it not be overlooked, has her Alsace-Lorraine to be redeemed and avenged. In 1860, in the hour of China's weakness and humiliation, Russia, who had given no assistance at all to either France or Britain in the war, but perceiving that the Dragon flag was for the moment laid in the dust, came forward with the demand peculiarly

Russian, that the Province of Maritime Manchuria with its Pacific littoral, should be ceded to her. China was not then in a position to resist this insolent proposal. But Manchuria is the cradle of her dynasty, and she has neither forgotten nor forgiven. That is a menace which Russia now appraises at its real value. We wonder much if the Muscovite does not now in reality regret the fatal step of annexation, a step which has earned for his race the eternal hatred of the implacable Mongolian.

In regard to British annexations in Eastern Asia, the writer is no apologist for an annexation policy as such ; but is the conviction not being gradually—though unwillingly—forced upon us that the destiny of Great Britain in Asia is annexation of those minor rotten Eastern Powers, which, by their very rottenness, compel us to assume the control of their foreign relations? French intrigue and the insane gyrations of the last representative of the dynasty of Alompra forced upon us the annexation of Upper Burmah. French intrigue may yet compel us to annex Siam. It is, we believe, an open secret that the moment France puts pressure on Siam, the latter Power will place herself under the protection of the Union Jack.

Annexation is our destiny—our destiny, God grant it may not be our doom! But it is a high destiny and a noble inheritance if it be used for the prevention of internecine tribal warfare, for the preservation of peace under a strong arm, for the energetic development of the resources of our vast Asian Empire, for the civilizing, for the educating, for the refining, and for the elevating of the hundreds of millions of all peoples, nations, and languages, who swear their proud and loyal allegiance to the puissant throne of the mighty Empress-Queen.

WILLIAM B. DUNLOP.

BROADFOOT AT JALÁLABAD.

To readers of many books and observers of the times the present age will doubtless appear essentially favourable to biography and personal reminiscence. That such should find expression in print is perhaps more easily explained than the circumstance that, when in print, the pages experience no lack of readers. Yet while it is natural that in these days of compulsory and higher education the army of writers should be numerically strong, it is not strange that with an increased population there should be a proportionate increase in that well-marked inquisitiveness as to what our neighbours think or say, which is so thoroughly human and characteristic of human weakness. It must, in any case, be a source of congratulation to the moralist to realize that the interest in a fellow-creature's biography is not confined to world-wide reputations in this or that particular sphere. All men who have rendered notably good service to the State or to their brethren may be said to have won their title to come within the category of biographical subjects. Individual types of remarkable action and original thought, in whatever sphere displayed, are held to be better qualified than those of mere social position for a posthumous reputation less palpable, but sometimes more intelligible to the masses than monumental marble. Thus it is that genius has only to be verified as genius, and worth as worth, to bring on the same platform of distinction simple missionaries with high Church dignitaries, subalterns with field-officers, general practitioners with eminent physicians, rising barristers with justices and chancellors, and so on.

One important question—important to the historian

as to the biographical writer—is the period at which the record of an individual life, and the work of that life when completed, should be made public. Friends and relatives naturally suggest a speedy report lest the generation of personal admirers and acquaintances should pass away and a future generation consist of those who “know not Joseph.” But for historical truth it is perhaps well that a gap of time separate the chronicler from the *dramatis personæ* of his chronicle. If distance lend enchantment to the view, it is not always propinquity which imparts the truer conception. The proper light in which to judge of a picture is not in every instance gained until many backward and sideward steps have been taken, and just as the artist is apt to select a somewhat remote position to take in the whole extent of his landscape, so the biographer will often prefer the intervention of a lapse of years to arrive at a due appreciation of his subject.

The recent appearance of a volume* describing the Indian career of Major George Broadfoot, whose name is ever honourably conspicuous in the records of the Afghan war of 1839-41 and the Sikh campaign of 1845, cannot but command the interest of a large number of readers. No narrative of the defence of Jalálabad, or of the later victory at Firuz Shah, would be complete did it not contain a tribute to his personal gallantry and heroism. No history of British India during Her Majesty's reign could worthily recount the deeds of her notable soldier-administrators and soldier-soldiers without mention of Broadfoot and his Sappers. It is but just and reasonable that amid the many published biographies of the day some separate account should be given in the approved form of the services of this distinguished Indian officer. Forty-three odd years have passed since he met a warrior's death on the field of Firuz Shah. The intervening space—approaching half a century—has not been without its use

* “The Career of Major George Broadfoot, C.B., in Afghanistan and the Panjab.” By Major W. Broadfoot, R.E. (John Murray).

in throwing light upon his idiosyncrasy, and those acts by which his heroic character is so faithfully illustrated.

While it is for the story of the "illustrious garrison" of Jaldalabad that attention is now mainly solicited, other topics and considerations suggested by the interesting memoir in which this brilliant historical episode has just been reproduced will not necessarily be excluded from the present paper. No excuse, therefore, need be offered for the following sketch of George Broadfoot's life and career, with a retrospect of Southern India of half a century ago.

He was born at Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands. When his father, the Rev. W. Broadfoot, left that place in 1817, George, a boy of ten years of age, was taken up to London, there to be educated by private tuition and at day-schools. At eighteen he obtained a cadetship in the East India Company's Service, and sailed for Madras. He arrived at the Presidency to be posted to the 34th Native Infantry in January, 1826, at which time one of British India's greatest men, Sir Thomas Munro, was governor, and the strictest of disciplinarians, Sir George Walker, Commander-in-chief. After what may be called a thorough regimental apprenticeship of seven years, he returned to England, and did not make his reappearance in India till February, 1838, being soon after nominated to the Commissariat Department of the army of his presidency. Once placed on the staff, he may be said to have leaped into distinction. In 1840 his memorandum on the Tenasserim Provinces evoked the marked approval of his superiors, and Lord Elphinstone, in a letter dated the 24th August of that year, speaks of it and of its author in high terms of praise. But at the date of this letter Broadfoot had transferred himself and services to the powerful protectorate of the supreme Government from the (politically speaking) obscure prefecture of the "benighted" presidency.

This uncomfortable designation, persistently linked to Madras, was familiar as a household word throughout the

peninsula in the days when the British political authorities in the North were preparing the unfortunate programme which eventually brought about the disastrous campaign in Afghanistan. Justly or unjustly applied, it was of a nature to disturb the peace of mind of an ambitious cadet on first taking serious account of his new surroundings—a process the practice of which might reasonably be looked for three or four weeks after arrival. Let us suppose him to have been safely brought by *masulah* boat through the surf; precipitated on shore into the hands of the superintendent of cadets, a now obsolete official; appointed to do duty with a convenient native regiment; instructed in elementary drill, and initiated in the manners and customs of the mess-table: the season of reflection would follow in due course. Having heard the obnoxious adjective above-mentioned, he would naturally seek to fathom its meaning in connection with the service he had entered. The result would show a solution which, notwithstanding its want of logic, would certainly fail to allay discontent. It really meant that Madras, by geographical position, was in an inevitable shade—thrown out, as it were, of the range of India's higher interests. Certain cynics perhaps would insist upon a less plain and illogical interpretation, and attribute the application of the slighting epithet to a placid acceptance of official snubs and lack of self-assertion which must prove fatal to the dignity of governments as to the advancement of individuals. For such argument as this, the character of Madras governors and Madras councils must be held sufficient refutation. Nor could there be much reasonable complaint on the score of climate or polite society. If the daily sea-breeze at the presidency and the drive or ride on the esplanade became wearisome luxuries, there was the justly-famed Utakamand,* with more than one minor resort of easy reach irrespective of railways. But monotony was not the order of the day even at the

* How would the Madrassi of half a century ago have resented this spelling of his favourite "Ooty"?

seat of Government. Lord Elphinstone—better known to history, from better opportunities in after-years, as Governor of Bombay—was by no means indifferent to the social enjoyments of his countrymen. A newly inaugurated banqueting-hall was freely thrown open for gubernatorial festivities; Guindy Park was once given up to amateur booths and performances in clever imitation of an English country fair; the College Hall was allowed to be used by the lovers of the regular drama. As for the Club, it was, in 1839-40, rapidly laying the foundation of an institution which has since achieved a reputation second to none of the class in India. In any case, the term "benighted" could not in those years be fitly applied to Madras except in the sense of a geographical disadvantage for those among her officers who yearned for promotion or distinction in a more conspicuous field. *Au reste*, the erection of a lighthouse, construction of a pier, and arrival of the first instalment of ice and apples from America, were on the eve of realization—incidents which would all contribute to raise her in the estimation of sister presidencies and the outside world.

It has been, however, shown that Broadfoot was not the vulgarly ambitious boy-cadet when he sought employment out of his own presidency. He had been then some fourteen odd years in the service, seven of which had been passed in acquiring knowledge of Southern India and its people, and more especially of its native army and the language used as the ordinary medium of communication for officers and soldiers both. The occasion was also utilized for the formation of personal friendships and associations, which could not but influence his character in after-life. That he was a good linguist, and could master an Oriental tongue, may be inferred from the recorded circumstance that he was made quartermaster and interpreter of his regiment (two inseparable appointments) on July 31, 1839. The unusually long period of five years passed at home was not passed in pleasure or idle-

ness. In the words of his nephew and biographer, he "continued to study his profession; he travelled in France, Germany, and Italy, made himself acquainted with their history and forms of government, and to some extent acquired their languages."

For one year, the last of his leave, he was orderly-officer at the once well-known but now dimly-remembered East India Company's Military College near Croydon. An appointment such as this, though in itself requiring little more than discrimination in the enforcement of an ordinary military discipline, afforded both leisure and opportunities which might be turned to profit or otherwise, according to the will of the holder. To say nothing of the good effect produced upon others by a firm and kindly supervision, a strict attention to duty, and judicious administration of advice to those who were able to receive it—the orderly-officer at Addiscombe might himself to some extent benefit from the outdoor and indoor studies of the cadets, and association with the able men who conducted the professorial duties. Broadfoot appears to have availed himself of the occasion to study "fortification and other branches of military education, then considered unnecessary for an infantry officer." We learn further that—

"When remonstrated with for overworking, and told that his health would suffer, and that he knew his own work well enough, he replied: 'Well enough to be food for powder, or to lead a company properly into action; but to command an army, to have the lives of other men dependent on you, is another sort of affair, and requires a different preparation. In India, when an emergency arises—and sooner or later it will arise—the men fit to meet it will be found out and brought to the front. When work has to be done, the fittest man will get it to do. No man can say what the work may be: to raise, organize, and command an army; to arrange a question of diplomacy; or to direct or assist in the civil administration of a province. Hence the importance of being prepared.'"

Thus it will be evident that the transference of his work to Northern India and Afghanistan, so far as it was self-effected, was the result of a well-matured experience and carefully attained conclusions.

But he was not the only Madras officer who, during

these years of local perturbation, found relief to his professional aspirations in a move to the North-west. Richard Moorcroft of the 19th N. I., brother to the Bokhara traveller; Edward Arthur Webb of the 38th, one of the Kabul hostages; Thomas Walsh and Robert Wilson of the 52nd N. I., the last a son of the famous Christopher North, of *Blackwood*, and nephew of Sir John MacNeill; Francis Cunningham, of the 23rd N. I., son of Allan Cunningham the poet, with William Bird and Sutherland Orr of the same corps; Colin Mackenzie of the 48th N. I.; Thomas Clerk, of Broadfoot's own regiment; Lukin of the 14th; Bruère, 33rd; Ogilvy, 35th; and Gardner, 50th—officers of Madras Native Infantry—all these were gazetted for service with Shah Shuja. The example thus set was followed in later years by the transfer to the Punjab of Wilde, Fane, Keyes, and other Madrassis who, more or less, made their mark in the war annals of British India; but it was more especially at the earlier period to which reference is now made, that selection for outside work seemed to confer a new and unlooked-for boon upon the "benighted" subaltern, the thought of which made the mouths of less fortunate companions water, even though their congratulations were not insincere.

And now that the world has grown a full half-century older than the incident of the British advance into Afghanistan, that the barrier between Queen's and Company's officer is practically non-existent, and that the tendency of the day is to utilize all elements of usefulness regardless of artificial divisions—a tendency illustrated in India by a proposal to amalgamate the three Presidency armies—we may well look back with satisfaction to the character of the ancient rivalry between Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. It was that of the boy and not of the man: evident in times of peace, of play—and may we add of pamphleteering—but not to be distinguished in the hour of national danger, when all became, as it were, members of one service and workers in a common cause. History

has set the seal upon this natural brotherhood; and not a writer on the Afghan war, whose personal reminiscences have contributed to confirm that history, has allowed any vulgar question of quasi-sectarian distinction to interfere with the true delineation of his hero. In truth, this memorable campaign, in spite of its terrible drawbacks, was so rich in honourable deeds, whether of collective or individual performance, and exhibits so many lights and shades of heroism, that the mind reverts, in its contemplation, to the Homeric description of warriors of old, and we see in it the materials of an epic such as that of Troy. Were it brought to the test of comparison, Nestor might be missing, but many would be forthcoming, of whom Achilles, Ajax, Diomed, and other leading characters would readily be recognized as prototypes.

George Broadfoot's first duty, on appointment to the Shah's force, was to complete and organize a regiment of Sappers, of which the nucleus, consisting of Hazáras, had been raised by his brother William, near Bamian. For this purpose he proceeded to Dehli, and in the direction of the North-west Frontier. After recruiting the required number of Hindustanis and Gúrkhas, more work fell to his lot than to take his recruits to head-quarters at Kabul; for before he could reach Pesháwar, he was detained at Ludhiána and Firuzpúr to make arrangements for the escort and protection of the families and attendants of Shah Shuja and his blind brother, the ex-king Shah Zaman. Owing to the then disturbed state of the Punjab and the mutinous spirit of its army, fulfilment of the extra duty thus assigned was beset with difficulty. Broadfoot, however, accomplished his delicate task in a manner to call for high official approval, and when he eventually entered Kabul, weak and barely recovered from an attack of small-pox, and was presented by Sir W. Macnaghten to Shah Shuja, the British Envoy's despatch to the Government of India relates that His Majesty expressed to him "in the most flattering terms, his gratitude for the kind, judicious, and

considerate treatment which had been shown to the royal family." As a mark, moreover, for the king's regard, "a horse, a sword, and a dress of honour," were conferred upon the leader of the escort, which Government was asked, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case, "that he might be permitted to retain."

The period is July, 1841. During this and the two following months, in the midst of an apparent lull, mischief of the most active and hostile kind was brewing at Kabul. At the end of September, "affairs were in miserable confusion." On the 7th of October, Broadfoot received a note warning him, with a hundred of his Sappers, "for immediate field service." Two days later the detachment, in which his company was included, marched to Butkhak, a village about eight miles from the capital. On the 11th, General Sale arrived there with fresh troops, marching the whole detachment the day after, with severe fighting, through the Khurd Kabul Pass, east of the village. New reinforcements becoming requisite, more regiments came in from Kabul, and when, on the 22nd of October, an advance upon Tezin was ordered, Broadfoot's regiment of Sappers formed, on that occasion, part of a respectable field force which, in less than a month afterwards, became what was known to subsequent history as the illustrious garrison at Jalálabad. Thus an incidental expedition, originally designed merely to overawe some refractory Ghilzais, grew into that important division of the army which, in its enforced isolation, so nobly upheld the honour of its Government and country.

Before taking the reader, under the auspices of Major William Broadfoot, within the walls of the Afghan town, it may be instructive to look back upon the records of the events noted in the last paragraph, so far as available hitherto, and to see what, if any new light, has been thrown upon them by the recent publication.

Kaye's "*War in Afghanistan*" is undoubtedly the most complete work we possess on the subject of which it treats.

That writer gives a graphic account of the Envoy's conduct at Kabul in the summer and succeeding seasons of 1841, up to the date of his death; indicating how little importance he attached to the state of native feeling towards the Shah and his English allies; how two victories gained over Durránis and Ghilzais—the former under Aktar Khan, and the latter under Gul Muhammad (the "Gurí")—increased his assurance so greatly that he could report the country "perfectly quiet from Dan to Beersheba"; and how he was only waiting a favourable opportunity to proceed to India, there to be installed in the honourable office of Governor of Bombay. A successful expedition into the Zúrmát country in September tended further to strengthen his misplaced confidence; but in October he admitted suffering anxiety because of the rebellion of the Eastern Ghilzais. Broadfoot, as just stated, had been ordered to join the detachment sent for the suppression of this untoward rising. His narrative—whether contained in a letter or what other document is not stated—of his interviews with Sir W. Macnaghten and the military authorities, and the difficulty he laboured under in obtaining definite instructions as to the duties he would have to perform, is not only interesting as it concerns the narrator, but is also highly characteristic of the mode in which affairs were conducted at this most critical time. One illustration may be given in the comment of his biographer. Among other unavoidable requisitions, the Commandant of Sappers had to ask for tools, and put his application into written official form:

"He learnt to his astonishment that, though the bulk of the troops were sent every winter to Jalálabad, where they were virtually cut off from communications with Kabul by the snow, yet there was no magazine either at Gandamak or Jalálabad. When he pointed out the necessity, Macnaghten remarked that he spoke as if he were in an enemy's country!

* As it was, when the troops moved out under Colonel Monteath, a severe reprimand was sent after Broadfoot for taking so many tools, although he had obtained the general's sanction. The reprimand was crossed on the road by a demand for *still more*, the necessity for them and the wisdom of Broadfoot's arrangements having been forcibly demonstrated. The

reprimand was cancelled in a very handsome way, and Broadfoot was allowed *carte blanche*. He made large demands, which could only be partially complied with; but the tools and stores were mainly instrumental in saving Sale's force in Jalálabad, and even the regular sappers of Pollock's relieving army had to indent on Broadfoot for tools.

"He remarked, when considering the matter some time afterwards, 'When at length the Cabool insurrection broke out, it seemed as if Providence had stiffened my neck on that occasion, for Burnes strongly advised me not to take the tools, or I would make enemies; and he held the enemy in contempt. He thought me on that occasion, and on one or two others, a sort of professional pedant!'" (p. 29).

The details of military operations in which Broadfoot bore a part, from the march to Butkhak to the occupation of Jalálabad, include more than the forcing of the Khurd Kabul Pass and advance upon Tezin. From the latter place the general sent back to Army Headquarters Captain Paton, one of his best staff-officers, with a portion of his brigade, including three companies of Sappers. Durand has written much comparatively new matter* on the further progress of the force eastward. Abbott also has described the obstacles met with at Jagdalak, and how the passage of the troops was contested up to Surkháb.† Broadfoot, in a letter to a friend, written on the 4th of November at Gandamak, where Sale halted for nearly a fortnight, states that "on ten days we were more or less engaged with the enemy, and in four of the more considerable affairs I had no reason to find fault with the share allotted to me. In fact, we have been at the post of danger always." It is quite refreshing to read the honest and hearty praise which, when entering into closer particulars, he accords to Havelock and others, whom he respects for more than mere physical courage. If the two remaining marches from Gandamak were really accomplished, as recorded by Kaye, "without serious opposition," there were not wanting incidents of a strictly war-like nature in connection with them—incidents which in some cases brought out conspicuously the soldierly qualities of individual officers. Lieutenant Cunningham's mission

* "First Afghan War" (Longmans, 1879).

† Low's "Journal of General Augustus Abbott" (Bentley, 1879).

to destroy the Mamu Khel fort is a case in point. That officer, with his Sappers, came in to Sale's camp at Fathabad, seventeen miles west of Jalálabad, and half-way from Gandamak; exhausted and having suffered severely; but his work had been gallantly done, and the Major-General, in tendering his thanks to him in a subsequent garrison order, expressed the opinion that his "perseverance and resolution in effecting the demolition of the fort" were "deserving of the highest commendation."

One word about the question which Kaye says that "military critics will long continue to discuss"—Sale's withdrawal of his brigade to Gandamak when required to return to Kabul *at all risks*. Kaye's own views are: "Had Sale's force remained in the valley of Gandamak, it might have saved Elphinstone's army from annihilation on its fatal January retreat. As long as it was encamped there, the tendency of the Ghilzai chiefs was towards the establishment of friendly relations with the British; but no sooner had we determined to abandon our position than the whole country broke out into hostility, and the passes were sealed." Abbott has "no doubt whatever that Sale's decision was a wise one, though persons hostile to the good general have expressed a different opinion." Durand, asserting that the decision "was regretted by some of the ablest officers in his force, foremost amongst whom was Broadfoot;" and arguing that by the act Sale had, "humanly speaking, . . . denied himself the honour and satisfaction of retrieving the state of affairs at the capital," enters into a long exposition of reasons why the general should have maintained his position at Gandamak instead of throwing his brigade into Jalálabad at all, which he describes as "a hasty retrograde movement." Havelock, according to Marshman's "Memoirs," considered the "occupation of Jalálabad" to be an object of immense advantage" from its geographical and strategical positions; was strongly opposed to retracing the steps of the force to Kabul; and did *not* consider it advisable to remain at Gandamak. Major Broad-

foot's volume under immediate notice contains the following passage: "When Sale received the orders, he consulted his officers, and decided that he could not obey. This decision has been much questioned."

Durand's above-quoted assertion is added, and further a note from the "*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*," repeating the following remarks by Sir Herbert Edwardes:

"Of course, it will remain a moot point whether Sale could have returned or not; and, if he had returned, whether it would have saved the Kabul force. From Sale's own account it is probable he could not have returned in a state of efficiency; but there were at least two men with Sale's brigade who would have made all the difference—one, Henry Havelock, who would have recalled the discipline and spirit of poor Elphinstone's subordinates, if mortal man could do it; the other, George Broadfoot, who, in the last resort, would have dared to supply the army with a leader."

The proverbial facility to become wise after the event has doubtless induced many sensible men and good soldiers to pass sentence of disapproval as well as approval on the action taken at this critical hour. A passage in one of Broadfoot's recently-published letters favours the impression that the bare suggestion of "retiring to" Jalálabad was repugnant to his feelings even before discussion of the proposal by a Council of War. But his biographer lays no stress on the point; and it may be that, on mature consideration, he deferred to the view of the situation adopted by his friend Havelock. Of one thing there can be no shadow of a doubt: and that is, that when once the roving remnant of the brigade had become a declared garrison, it owned no truer, more staunch, or more practically useful a member than George Broadfoot.

It is universally admitted that the defence of Jalálabad was a glorious episode of the First Afghan War; and the testimony borne to the merits of the defenders generally by every writer capable of handling the subject is in the highest degree honourable. Officer and soldier—European and native—all are included in the tribute of praise awarded by a grateful Government and country. From the day on

which the ground was broken for the construction of a real, substantial stronghold, until that on which evacuation of the town was completed and the garrison called to share in the triumphs of the relieving army—a period of 280 days—all that human skill and human energy could achieve was willingly given to promote the cause in hand—one which involved maintenance of the national credit as much as the preservation of individual life. It is of little consequence what authorities are consulted or quoted on the matter—civil or military, English or foreign—the popular acceptance of the event has become rooted in the annals of British India, just as are the achievements of her ancient warriors in the history of Greece, and is, it may well be, less assailable by the criticism of after-ages than the fame of Marathon or Thermopylæ. But unanimity in the performance of allotted duties is one thing, and the actual allotment of duties is another; and if a Council of War be convened to deliberate on what *is* duty, those who have a voice in the deliberations are not expected to be all of one mind. Now let us examine the fresh evidence which has been made public on the views and opinions of the defenders of Jalálabad, throughout the stirring period of their beleaguement. In doing this, the object is to attain, so far as attainable, historical truth; to render justice to all; in no case to seek a fiat of condemnation or deterioration of repute.

Kaye's version of the frequent engagements with an enemy outside the walls, as of the conflicts of opinion which give intense though melancholy interest to the inner life of the illustrious garrison, would have doubtless been more thorough had the Jalálabad story been separately treated, and so told in its entirety. Subordinated to the history of the war, it is necessarily broken and taken up at intervals: it is narrated practically in five fragments—one in the first, one in the fourth, and one in the fifth chapter of Book VI.; another in the third chapter of Book VII., and the remaining one in the first chapter of Book VIII. These may be summarized as follows:—

The first relates the circumstances of the occupation, and the occurrences in the garrison for the two months commencing November 13th, the date of entering the town, up to the 13th of January, the date of Dr. Bryden's arrival. After making arrangements for the precautionary guards and picquets, Sale, we are told, as a preliminary step, summoned his commanding officers to a Council of War (a misnomer, according to Major Broadfoot, for a "consultation"), to determine whether the town should be abandoned for the citadel, or held and rendered defensible. The last proposal finding favour, Broadfoot, the recognized garrison engineer, "set about the work entrusted to him with all the energy and skill for which his character was distinguished . . . Every difficulty was overcome as it arose." On the 16th of November a sortie, under Colonel Monteath, checked and fairly drove back some thousands of molesting Afghans; and a second affair, in which the enemy was thoroughly routed by Colonel Dennie, took place on the 1st of December. For the remainder of that month the works were prosecuted with vigour and without molestation; but news of the reverses at Kabul came in by instalments, and, on the 21st of December, Capt. Macgregor communicated to the general a report that the Envoy had been murdered at a conference. This news was confirmed by letter received on the 2nd day of the New Year. It was therein further notified that the Kabul force was about to abandon its position and fall back upon Jalálabad. A few days later, a despatch conveying the "wishes" of General Elphinstone, commanding the troops at head-quarters, and Major Pottinger, in charge of the mission, that the Jalálabad garrison should return immediately to India, was laid before Sir Robert Sale by Captain Macgregor. The reply, signed by both these officers, was to the effect that, for certain cogent reasons stated, they held it their duty to await a further communication before carrying out the instructions received. On the 13th January, when the defences were in a very forward state, and while the garrison was busily engaged in maturing them, Dr.

Bryden arrived, "wounded and exhausted," to report "his belief that he was the sole survivor of an army of some sixteen thousand men."

Kaye's second notice of the Jalálabad garrison refers to the time when Sale and Macgregor were urging the British advance from Pesháwar, and reproduces a characteristic letter of the former officer to General Pollock, partly written in French, under date the 14th of February, 1842. An account is also given of the earthquake of the 19th of February, with the extraordinary efforts made to repair the damage it entailed; of Akbar Khan's tactics to distress the garrison, by close investment and harassing assaults on its forage parties; and of the sortie on March 11th, commanded by Dennie, in which Broadfoot was wounded. More correspondence with General Pollock follows; and the chapter ends with the statement that on March 31st that distinguished commander began his advance towards the Khaibar.

Thus far from the early edition. A third edition, published in 1874 gives, "for the first time," an account of the Councils of War, held in January and February, based upon what is conceived to be "undeniable evidence" which had lately come into the historian's possession. This account is minute, and expressed in the terse style for which Kaye's books have become distinguished. Many readers will recall it to memory; those who cannot do so should refer to the original; for the sketch now given can only touch upon the salient points.

At a Council of War assembled at General Sale's quarters on the 26th of January, Macgregor put it to the members whether they agreed with the chief and himself that it was their duty to treat with the Shah, in fulfilment of His Majesty's apparent desire that they should evacuate Jalálabad and leave the country? A proposed letter, stating the terms upon which they were prepared to go, having been read, "men lifted up their voices together, in vehement debate, eager to speak, little caring to listen. Arguments were enunciated with such warmth of language that they

lost all their argumentative force." The feeling of the majority, however, seemed in favour of withdrawal. "George Broadfoot, of the Sappers," thought otherwise, and "eagerly lifted up his voice against the proposal." It is suggested that his "warmth" may have weakened the cause advocated, but he succeeded in adjourning the discussion to the next day, when he brought more method to bear on his case, and two of his comrades declared themselves on his side. The question was again debated with vigour, and argument, reply, and rejoinder were freely used by the more prominent speakers. Eventually the policy of capitulation prevailed, and "slightly altered in its phraseology—which Broadfoot had denounced as too abject—the letter was carried through the council and prepared for transmission to the Shah." It was duly despatched, and after some days the reply came, calling upon the officers if they were sincere in the proposals made, to affix their seals to the document they had forwarded. Another council was held, at which Broadfoot urged that, as their sincerity was doubted, they were at liberty to reconsider the capitulation, and put forward for acceptance the draft of a letter to that effect. His view was not approved; "more vehement discussion" ensued, and the council adjourned to re-assemble an hour later. On renewal of the sitting, "the debate was resumed more gravely and decorously than it had broken off. Colonel Dennie and Captain Abbott had by this time determined to support the proposal for holding out, and Colonel Monteath . . . prepared a letter which . . . was not renewal of the negotiation," and "after some discussion . . . was accepted by the council," and despatched to Kabul. "It left them free to act as they should think fit," and "there was no more talk of withdrawal."

The third occasion of reverting to Jalálabad is when the historian describes the arrival of the relieving force, adding the note of a sortie on April 1st, and a brief, but spirited relation of an important victory gained on the 5th of that month by the garrison troops, under their gallant general,

over Muhammad Akbar in person. In this action Colone Dennie lost his life ; but a great result had been attained, which called for the special congratulations of the Governor-General. Broadfoot had been debarred from actively sharing in the triumph, owing to the severity of his wound, and his place was taken by a subaltern, Lieutenant Orr.

General Pollock is himself so much, and so justly, the hero of the hour in Kaye's fourth reference to Jalálabad, that the garrison, as a garrison, remains insufficiently prominent to be taken into account. The months from April to June were, however, of great political interest both to India and throughout Afghanistan.

One more passage remains. As regards Jalálabad and its fortunes, it is of a desultory character ; for it concerns the whole campaign rather than an episode in its story, and bears mainly on the approaching *dénouement*. The garrison supplies a detachment for successful operations in the Shinwári country, under Colonel Monteath ; but General Pollock is the main figure, and his negotiations are with reference to the release of the British prisoners at, or in the vicinity of, Kabul. "On the 20th of August," Kaye writes : "Pollock began to move from Jalálabad." He adds that the general himself, on the same day, marching with the advanced guard, reached Sultanpur, *en route* to Gandamak, and that, when at Gandamak, three days later, he determined on dislodging some hostile chiefs at Mamú Khail—for which purpose he "ordered up from Sale's camp in the rear Broadfoot's Sappers and a squadron of dragoons." How the enemy were driven from the range of heights near Kuchli Khail by Colonel Taylor on one side, and Broadfoot on the other, is afterwards recorded. The incident may be considered the first of a new series of engagements tending to the restoration of British power and prestige. But we must not too freely wander beyond the limits prescribed by the title of the present paper. Space would be wanting were our attention not now recalled and confined to the actual occupation of Jalálabad. Thus far

practical assurance has been given that Broadfoot left that town with the Sappers in full effective vigour and fighting condition. It remains to consider what new light is now thrown upon the historical record of the season when he was actually a member of the garrison.

The two first of the above summaries, obtained from Kaye's history, embrace two intervals which may be bracketed as one—altogether four months and thirteen days, or from the 13th of November to the 31st of March. Let us inquire what Broadfoot has to say himself on the circumstances of this particular period. His diary, though characterized as "small," is a kind of standing reference up to the 10th of January, three days before Dr. Bryden's arrival. But we learn from his biographer that :

"At this very critical period a part of Captain Broadfoot's diary has been lost. From January 10th to February 1st the leaves have disappeared, and all endeavour to trace them has been fruitless. When Major Broadfoot was killed in 1845, the diary was in the hands of the late Sir H. Havelock, who sent it to Broadfoot's successor in office, Sir H. Lawrence, from whom it was received some years after by Major Broadfoot's family without the pages referred to."

From February 1st this record is, it is presumed, again available ; but letters, notes and memoranda have been found to afford abundant information on passing events, which in many cases possesses great public interest. In the pages before us it is not always clear which source is drawn upon for supplying the material of the text ; but this omission is comparatively of small account, if we accept the narrative as founded on personal statements, authentic inasmuch as they are those of the gallant officer whose career they describe. First and foremost, then, among the *notabilia* we are confronted with the question of the Councils of War.

That of the 27th of January is described by Major William Broadfoot. He has prefaced his description by reference to the state of affairs when Dr. Bryden, in person, told the sad tale of the Kabul tragedy. This is the passage :

"His dreadful story still further depressed the Jalálabad garrison, already in sufficiently low spirits. But they hoped much from Wild's force at Peshiwar. These hopes were not shared by Broadfoot; he divined correctly the probable failure of assistance from that source, and on learning the destruction of the Kabul force, he, as garrison engineer, laid the facts regarding the state of Jalálabad before Major-General Sir R. Sale, and pointed out that, unless he were prepared to hold the place to the last extremity, he should retreat that night, and fight his way out of the country. A plan of operations was prepared; the retreat was to be conducted as a military measure without convention or agreement with the enemy. But Sale, believing in Wild's assistance, decided to remain, and wrote to the Commander-in-chief that he had resolved on the most determined defence of the place, relying on the promise of early relief, the necessity for which he again strongly urged."

But the situation changed when it was ascertained that Wild's * Brigade had failed to penetrate the Khaibar. Then Sale, "with the assistance of Captain Macgregor, devised a scheme for the evacuation of Jalálabad under a convention with the Afghans, and on January 26, 1842, summoned a Council of War to listen to and approve of proposals in which the honour and safety of the garrison were involved."

The council, it is stated, "consisted of Major-General Sir Robert Sale, president, with the following officers as members: Col. Dennie, C.B., 13th L. I.; Col. Monteath, C.B., 35th N. I.; Captains Abbott, Backhouse, and Macgregor, Bengal Artillery, the latter being the Political Officer; Capt. Oldfield, 5th Bengal Cavalry; and Capt. Broadfoot, of Broadfoot's Sappers, garrison engineer. Captains Havelock and Wade were present as members of the general's staff, and recorded proceedings; but they had no vote."

Explanation is afforded how the absence of the records connected with the court's proceedings caused Broadfoot "to draw up a memorandum on the subject, and to obtain Havelock's testimony to its accuracy." Major Havelock's reply on this occasion is explicit in the opinion that the notes "contribute a fair and accurate statement of that which occurred." In his letter to Captain Durand of the same date

* Spelt "Wylde," in Havelock's "Memoirs."

he repeats this personal impression, and observes incidentally, "The account of the debates given by Broadfoot is so correct that I have thought it unnecessary to attach any remarks to his sketch. Oldfield and Broadfoot were the only two who voted at the first council absolutely against treating to quit the country."

The memorandum referred to follows *in extenso*—that is, "printed as nearly as possible as it is written." It should be noted that the language of the heading is "Councils of War in Jalálabad." Now this use of the plural would have been quite clear and intelligible had mention been made in it of the consultative meeting held immediately after receipt of the Kabul letter on the 9th of January—a meeting designated by Havelock a "Council of War." As it stands, we must infer that only the reassembling, on the 9th of February, of the officers who deliberated together on the 27th of January, is intended to be understood. In fact, the following entries made on the 9th of January contain seemingly *all* that Broadfoot's diary has to relate with regard to the question raised on that date:

"*January 9th.*—Three Achikzye horsemen brought in a peremptory order from General Elphinstone to General Sale to quit Jalálabad for Pesháwar. The order was 'to be delivered by the new Governor.'

"*Answer:* That it is of an old date, and not delivered by the person named; and as Mahomed Achar Khan's proclamations are about, calling on the people here to attack us, what security have we that we shall have a safe passage to Pesháwar?

"In the meantime the reinforcements are at Junrood, and rumoured to be farther on.

"Our duty in every case is clear—to stand fast to the last, unless our Government resolve to abandon the contest, an unlikely contingency."

There can be little doubt that the evidence afforded by this important paper is worthy of embodiment—nay, is an absolutely essential element—in a true history of the Afghan war. So circumstantial a narrative, written after mature deliberation by one of the principal actors in the scene described, and corroborated by unimpeachable and equally direct testimony, could not, when once made public,

have been ignored by any impartial writer, answerable for an authoritative chronicle of British dominion in the East. Sir John Kaye's account of the two Councils of War, interpolated in the third edition of his book—especially that of the February Council—should be mainly derived from this source; though it hardly does justice to Broadfoot's intelligence in assuming that his actions, if not prompted by a sense of irresponsibility, may have owed its origin to that influence. Granted that officers entrusted with high responsible duties are less likely to act upon impulse than those under their orders—a hypothesis applicable to the garrison of Jalálabad as elsewhere—it is for History to judge which of the lines of conduct advised on an emergency was the right one, and the retrospect of events must involve this consideration as well as the other. Of subsequent writers, Durand, Havelock, and Abbott—the two former, it has been shown, had the MS. in their keeping shortly after it was completed, and may naturally be supposed to have profited by it in placing on record the stirring events to which it related.

The present paper has reference principally to the period passed within the walls of Jalálabad before General Pollock's arrival, during which the great incidents, irrespective of the daily working parties and occasional sallies, were the Councils of War. Later on, when the scene is changed to grounds further east, there is abundance of eventful incident, no less attractive to many readers from an occasional flavour of controversy almost inseparable from the genuine biography of men of mark. Hitherto, any controversial matter has been of so familiar and continuous a kind that its treatment hardly warrants the charge of revival. Critics or students may, however, be safely left to solve these problems for themselves on the evidence before them. In so doing they will have the satisfaction of perusing a book of remarkable interest, and full of enlightenment on the materials of modern Indian history.

F. J. GOLDSMID.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDO-CHINA.

From an official point of view the campaign in Burma came to an end on the 31st of March, 1887; but the public are fully aware that the operations between the 1st of April, 1887, and the 31st of March, 1888, were, if not quite so sensational, at least fully as important in their results as anything that preceded them. Sir George White left Mandalay on the 3rd of April to proceed to England on three months' leave. His departure marked the suspension of military operations. The term "suspension" is used because the opening of the cold weather of 1888-9 will witness the resumption of military activity. But of this more presently. It is as well first to look back a little. All know of the first occupation of Mandalay, of the deceptive atmosphere of peacefulness and resignation that misled the judgment of the authorities, of the measures taken in consequence to substitute civil for military rule—and then the *fiasco*. In February, 1886, the Government talked of reducing the garrison. From April to July it was pouring fresh troops, regiment after regiment, into the country. Throughout the rains of 1886 the troops, though decimated by disease, resulting from abnormal exertion and exposure, held on to the country, and so enabled the Government, if not to save appearances, at any rate to evade failure. Then in October came the reinforcements. Five months of energetic operations followed, and at the end of that time, *i.e.*, by March, 1887, it was felt that the back of the Burmese resistance was broken. Since then the civil authorities have been able to make some progress in the work of administration. As for any civil work that was done in 1886, the presence of civilians at all in the country

would be unaccountable, were it not that they were most of them good and true Englishmen who, finding that the kutcherry was not a fashionable resort, determined for the nonce to take up the rôle of soldier and follow the illustrious example set them by their predecessors in India in 1857-8. And right good service these civilian soldiers did in Burma; and while aiding the military they gained familiarity with the country they were destined to govern and administer, and with its people.

The hot weather and rainy season of 1887 was spent in trampling out the many sparks of rebellion that still lurked in the Burmese jungles, and in preparing for more extended operations in the coming winter. The expedition under Colonel Stedman to the Southern Shan States, and the mission sent to Thibaw, both in the spring of 1887, had resulted in the submission of the greater part of those States, and had further brought us into close relation with all the Shan States west of the Salween.

What was effected in the winter of 1887-8 was this. Three or four columns entered and opened up the Yaw country as far east as the Yomas, hurrying and driving out the bands of rebels and dacoits, and establishing British rule. The Yaw country is now in a tolerably settled condition. Further north, an expedition from the Chindwin across the Yomas to Chittagong was projected but fell through. It was considered that the wild tribes of those parts were not yet sufficiently prepared to receive a party of exploration. From Bhamo a column visited Monhyin, Mogaung, the Endawgyi Lake, and the Jade Mines. From the point of view of exploration, the results of this expedition are valuable and interesting. The column had to fight its way back through the Kakhyens. It was unable, consequently, to effect a permanent settlement of the country that it visited and explored. It will probably be necessary to send another expedition up there next winter, unless in the meantime the inhabitants make their peace with the civil officer at Bhamo. This tract of country is rich in

valuable products, jade, amber, teak, ivory, and rubber. In the south-east of Burma a small column explored the intricate and mountainous country from Pyinmana and Tongha to Mobyé and Karenni. The work done by this column is a link connecting Burma with that part of the Southern Shan States visited by Colonel Stedman's Column in February, 1887, and by the Southern Shan Column in December of the same year. So far Karenni has not been touched, but the time is not far off when the troublesome Karens will be reduced to that state to which the Russians have reduced the Turcoman. In their propensity for raiding and slave-trading Turcoman and Karen are precisely alike. Such customs and ways are not compatible with proximity to a civilized power. Like the Turcoman the Karen must yield and turn his *dah* into a ploughshare.

The most important expeditions of the winter of 1887-8 were those undertaken by the Northern and Southern Shan Columns, more especially the former. The work of the Southern Column was to make the tour of the Southern Shan States, which had already, most of them, at least, submitted to Colonel Stedman's force; and to enter into preliminary negotiations with the Siamese authorities about the Burmo-Siamese frontier. Not much interest attaches to this frontier, as, after all, Siam will have to do as she is told. The Southern Shan Column effected nothing in regard to Karenni (perhaps it did not attempt to do so), and its efforts to induce the Trans-Salween Shan chiefs to come in and interview the political authorities were unsuccessful. The Northern Shan Column was detailed to conquer and annex some 15,000 square miles of territory. That it did. Only the Palaungs of Taungbain attempted resistance. They suffered and then submitted. Kun San Ton Hon, the powerful chief of Theinni, who might have offered a strenuous resistance, was wise; and, when he found the column within twenty miles of his capital and preparing for an immediate advance, sent out two of his

ministers to notify his submission. Two days later the Northern Shan Column marched into Theinnimyo. Its subsequent operations consisted of the exploration of all the country eastward to and a little beyond the Salween. The results of this expedition, combined with that under Colonel Stedman, mentioned above, and supplemented by the work of the Southern Column are—that all the country west of the Salween, and bounded on the north by the Shwéli River, and on the south by Karenni (say some 35,000 to 40,000 square miles), has become part of Her Majesty's dominions. The work done by the Northern Shan Column is further of great political moment, in that it has an important bearing on the future delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier. How important a matter this is will perhaps be gathered from what is said further on.

The attempt to march the 43rd Goorkha Light Infantry from Kawlin to Paungbyin, on the Chindwin River, did not succeed, owing either to the road being impracticable or to some fault of the guides. A smaller party, however, under Colonel Symons went and returned. The Sawbwa of Wuntho seems finally to have made up his mind that it is best for him to meet the British in a friendly or acquiescent spirit. Colonel Symons returned from the Chindwin to Kawlin, which is a post held by British troops some fifteen miles south of the chief town of Wuntho, attended only by a few of the Wuntho Sawbwa's men.

The situation in Burma at the time of writing is this: Burma Proper, from the seaboard on the south as far north as the frontiers of Manipur and Assam and a line drawn from Tammu through Paungbyin, Wuntho, and Monhyin to Bhamo, has been fairly well pacified and settled. Shoots and seeds of rebellion there are; but the shoots will be nipped in the bud, and the seeds are never likely to sprout for want of the necessary nutriment. South of the Kabo Valley and Assam, between the Chindwin River and the mountain range (Yomas) that separate the basin of that river from the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, and

north of the recently-reduced Yaw country, much yet remains to be done. The subjection of this tract is a mere question of time. The inhabitants are a mere congeries of wild tribes, seemingly held together by no bond of union. In dealing with them we have to reckon with no neighbouring foreign Power. Lying as they do hedged around on the east and north by territory that is already British, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal, they are inevitably destined to assimilate themselves to their surroundings and become British likewise. A few years may elapse before this happens, and these tribes may need a few salutary lessons—nothing more. Then the telegraph line will be laid direct from Chittagong to Mandalay. As a matter of fact, the country west of the Chindwin and south of Assam is but imperfectly known. Those little expeditions, one of which cost Lieutenant Stewart of the Derbyshire Regiment his life a few months ago, had not improbably for their object the acquisition of some knowledge of the country and its people.

Turning to the country between the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy, we may draw a line from Paungbyin through Monhyin to Bhamo and say that in all that lies south of that the elements of rebellion and resistance have been to a great extent brought under control. North of that line much remains to be done. It is a country tenanted chiefly by Kakhyens, a race that has repeatedly, since the end of 1885, shown both the inclination and the ability to give us trouble. Indeed, about Bhamo they have attained the dignity of a nuisance. Of course they will have to be roughly handled before long. With his hands more free from demands elsewhere, the General Officer commanding in Burma will be able to deal these Kakhyens some severe blows. That will be enough for them. They will then cry "peccavi." They, too, must acknowledge the sway of the Empress of India. East of Bhamo the frontiers of China are very soon reached; but northward there is wide scope for the British thirst for exploration. Here is the

land of the Kadus and the Singphos. Here is still a *terra incognita*, that *terrain* so dear to the Survey Department. Through this flows that mystery, the Irrawaddy. Does the Irrawaddy rise in Thibet? This has been a *crux* that has exercised geographical science for years. Witness the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." This winter a survey party worked down from Assam over the Patkoi range to or towards the Hukong valley. The belt of the "unknown" is yearly growing narrower and narrower. We can picture to ourselves the "lights" of the Survey Department ever burning to search out and to illumine mysteries, and yet once the mystery is illumined, feeling a regret that doubt has become certainty. The Survey Department is very human. It will eat its cake and yet want it. Like Alexander, its ambition is to conquer the whole world, utilizing as its weapons the theodolite and the plane table instead of the spears and pikes of the Macedonian phalanx. And, like Alexander, when the whole world is conquered, it will cry for more, and will not find it. It will be henceforth limited to the uninteresting sphere of keeping in order what it has got; and the Royal Geographical Society will have no more problems to solve. The consideration of this need not, however, prevent gentlemen of wandering proclivities from becoming members of that Society. Its dissolution is not imminent. It has still two or three centuries of active life before it; and for the present it has no more interesting sphere than the geographical blank that lies hemmed in by Burma, Assam, Thibet, and China, not to mention Thibet itself and South-western China.

Westward and northward, then, of the kingdom of which Mandalay was erst the capital, there are broad areas of territory which, in the fulness of time, will be absorbed into our Asiatic dominions. The time will come when the Province of Burma is likely to be not a Commissionership, not a Lieutenant-Governorship, but another Vice-royalty. Its seaboard will extend from the north-east

corner of the Bay of Bengal, past Chittagong, Akyab, Rangoon, Moulmein, and Tavoy, to the southernmost promontory of the Malay Peninsula. On the north it will be bounded by Assam, Thibet, and China. Not impossibly Assam may find itself incorporated in this province; or at least part of Assam. The valley of the Brahmaputra would naturally not sever its connection with Calcutta, the mouthpiece by which its produce is given to the world.

We will now glance at the probable eastern limits of our future Province of Burma. We have seen that between January, 1887, and March, 1888, the whole of the Shan States, as far east as the Namkong (Salween) River, and bounded on the north by the Namman (Shwéli) River, and on the south by the as yet independent country inhabited by the Karens, has been incorporated with Burma. It is scarcely to be supposed that these States will be the source to us of no future trouble. Already in March, 1888, disturbances have broken out between several of the southernmost States. There happened to be one State down there that, amid the general impoverishment, had preserved some modicum of riches. The parade of this wealth was an eyesore to the neighbouring chieftains, whose pride was as touchy as that of a "Lord Barren-muir." So they conjointly fell upon him, and reduced him to much the same condition as themselves. These little disputes will no doubt arise; but no organized resistance to British authority is possible. These chiefs are too much divided among themselves to be capable of united action. We shall only have in future to keep them from fighting. They have for years past been so much in the habit of raiding on each other, that we can scarcely hope to eradicate the tendency at once. We must also reduce to subjection the Karens, whose country at present intervenes between our Shan States and our provinces of Pegu and Martaban. These Karens are inveterate raiders, and must be severely suppressed.

We will now consider the prospect before us east of the Salween. The limits of our annexation there are, north and north-east, China; east, the French possessions in Tonquin; south, Siam. A good deal depends on whether China insists on maintaining a tenacious hold on such Shan States as have in times gone by paid a nominal tribute to it. We may with some confidence look forward to seeing the eastern portion of Burma extend at least to the Mekong (Cambodia) River, and possibly a considerable distance east of it, even to the western borders of the French annexations. As for Siam, when it is hemmed in on the north and west by British territory, and on the south and east by the sea, it may be prophesied that it will in time become also a dependency of Great Britain.

If this forecast of the elasticity of our Province of Burma is correct, its future is a great one. When it has reached this vast size, the government of it from the capital of India will be scarcely practicable. It will be time to create an Indo-Chinese Province, distinct from what is now "England's greatest dependency." The time may come when Indo-China may contest with India the honour of being the "brightest jewel in England's crown."

Of course we all know that these brilliant jewels bring in their train what ordinary men call responsibilities, and what politicians of the John Bright school call disadvantages. That school would have had us give up India, because we will in all probability sooner or later have to fight for its possession; and the same school naturally strongly opposes the foundation of an Indo-Chinese Empire for the same reason. Supposing that such a policy was adopted, what would the advocates of it propose to do with the thousands of educated Englishmen who now find occupation and livelihood in controlling and administering Britain's Asiatic possessions? In these days, when education is forced ahead at high pressure, England must have an outlet for its educated surplus. How popular service in India is may be judged by the powerful com-

petition that at present exists for every branch of the Governmental service, from the *Dii Majoris* of the Civil Service and the army, to the *Dii Minoris* of the forests, police, telegraph, and postal service. Of course, if this source of livelihood were cut off, our educated youth would have to migrate in much larger numbers to our colonies. A considerable part of the stream of emigration would, however, set towards foreign countries, and thus the services of that portion of her youth would be lost to Great Britain. What we want to rule such empires as India is not a great array of uneducated brute force, but a very large number of officials, many of whom are drawn from the upper classes of the British people, and all of whom are, comparatively speaking, well educated. The British Army quartered in India numbers now 70,000 men, the highest figure it has ever reached. Take the last Census Report, and compare with that figure the number of officers of the Army, Civil Servants, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, Railway and Irrigation engineers and *employés* of every branch of the Public Works Department, officials of the Revenue, Judicial, Customs, Postal, Telegraph, Police, Salt, Forest, Marine, Medical, and other departments; also the number of Englishmen who earn a livelihood in India as planters, merchants, barristers, physicians, surgeons, &c. Then consider what the pecuniary loss to England would be if her educated youth was suddenly robbed of all this, and weigh in the opposite balance the expense of maintaining an army of 70,000 in India, an army that, moreover, always has been, and always can be, utilized at any moment in defending Imperial interests. These two considerations, in short, admit of no comparison, except in the eyes of a pessimism that distorts reason.

Our present and future annexations in Indo-China will bring with them dangers and responsibilities. Probably in a few years our great Indian Empire will march not only with Russia (supposing the "buffer" to collapse), but also with China and France. To all appearances at present

our relations with China are amicable; and it is to be hoped that the final delimitation of the Chino-Burmese frontier will be brought about with a minimum of friction. The tendency of late years has been to look upon China as our possible ally in a struggle with Russia. There is no reason at present for supposing that the establishment of a strong British Government to the south of Thibet and Yunnan will materially affect our relations with China. As matters now stand, in the event of a war in which India and China are pitted against Russia, the armies of the allied Powers would act from separate and independent bases, each in its own territory, China from the east, and India from the south.

Our present knowledge would lead us to conclude that Russia will endeavour to invade China rather from the side of the Amur River than from Turkistan. The great Siberian Railway, with its terminus at Vladivostock on the borders of Corea and Manchuria, has of late been much talked of, and, ere many years have past, will be constructed. The Trans-Caspian Railway has now reached Bokhara, and from there will be at once pushed on to Tashkend. The time will come when Tashkend will be linked by rail with Semipalatensk and Tomsk, through which latter town the Siberian Railway will undoubtedly pass. This junction of the Trans-Caspian and Siberian Railways will facilitate the transfer of troops from one province to the other as required. For a force to march eastward from Turkistan north of Thibet to Peking seems scarcely practicable, considering the great distance and the mountainous and desert nature of the country. Naturally the line of rail will be the line of attack. The very same reasons, *i.e.*, the impracticable nature of the country, would prevent the British armies occupying India and Burma from operating to the north, that is, through Thibet and the vast area of desert that stretches north of Thibet and east of Peking. Only in the event of a Russian army seeking to reach Peking or South-eastern China by some

route south of the Gobi desert, or through Thibet, could a British force from India or Burma seek to threaten its flank. Troops sent from Burma to Eastern China would go by sea.

As for the risk of a collision with the French in Tonquin, it is not a contingency from which we need shrink. Precedent certainly encourages us to be sanguine of victory over the French in the East. It is true that historians of our struggles with the French in the eighteenth century for supremacy in India have attributed our success rather to the force of circumstances than to any marked superiority in those points which usually influence the fate of war and diplomacy. Be that as it may, the fact remains that we have succeeded. The last French aspiration after Asiatic conquest a few years ago in no way redounded to the credit of that nation. France is now hampered with a white elephant, which her pride compels her to support. It is a certainty that a combination between China and the British Power as represented by British Indo-China would in a very short time oblige France to vacate its possessions in Tonquin, Annam, and thereabouts. If Russia and France attempt a war against the rest of Europe, this will assuredly come to pass. England should find no difficulty in persuading China to join her in getting rid of the intruder.

It is, then, clear that in the pursuance of our policy of annexation in Indo-China, we must not risk an embroglio with China. That power is our natural ally in Asia for the resistance of Russian and French aggression. The time is now drawing nigh when the frontiers of British Burma and of China will have to be demarcated. A certain degree of forbearance on the part of England to press her claims to the "debateable" territory, will probably prove to be the policy that will pay in the long run. Circumstances cannot possibly admit of our making friends of Russia and France in the pursuance of our Asiatic policy, nor of playing off the one against the other. They alike threaten to shake

the stability of our rule in Asia and the peace and security of the Chinese Empire. Let us, then, avoid anything in reason that may produce strained relations with China. Our reward will come some day, let us hope, in the infliction of a severe check on Russian aggression, and in the expulsion of the French from Indo-China.

The public will naturally wish to know in what the foundation of a great British province, stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the Pacific, will profit England. In the first place, just as we have to counteract Russian intrigue and aggression on the north-western frontier of India, so we have had to anticipate French ditto in Indo-China. It is a medical axiom that prevention is better than cure, and I take it that it is a political axiom that anticipation is better than counter-action. In the present case we have most certainly got the French in a—to use a slang expression—"very tight corner." In fact, the ancient mariner between Scylla and Charybdis was in a less critical situation than the French settlements on the Red River between England and China. The position of the French in Tonquin may be aptly compared to that of a trireme—a trireme whose banks of oars are working at cross purposes—between the Symplegades.

But irrespective of the necessity of being beforehand with the French, the territory that we have annexed, and are going to annex, is in point of fertility and natural resources scarcely, if at all, surpassed by any portion of the habitable globe. As far as I have seen it, from the Irrawaddy to the Salween, every inch of it is fertile, capable of producing every, or almost every, grain, fruit, vegetable, and tuber of the temperate and torrid zones. It possesses in the Irrawaddy a commercial water-way, navigable throughout the year, infinitely superior, for instance, to the Oxus. Unfortunately, the Salween river is not navigable for steamers or cargo-boats, except for a short distance above Moulmein. It is, however, valuable as a medium for transporting teak-logs to the seaboard. The Sittang

and Pegu Rivers, tributaries of the Irrawaddy, and the Yunsalen River, a tributary of the Salween, are valuable both as commercial routes and for the export of teak. East of the Salween are the Mekong River, which reaches the sea at Bangkok, and its tributary the Mepyin, both of which are navigable by native cargo-boats, if not by steamers of light draught. These are the natural commercial outlets of the country. They will now be supplemented by railways. The railway from Rangoon, *vid* Tonghu, to Mandalay will be completed by the end of this year. Its extension and connection through Assam with the Indian railway system will not be long delayed. The construction of railways in the Shan States is a more complicated question. Measra, Colquhoun and Holt-Hallett strongly advocate a railway from Moulmein through Siam to the valley of the Mekong. No doubt, once Siam has become a dependency of Great Britain, this railway will present great advantages. In the meantime it would seem preferable to develop the trade with the Shan States and Western China by a branch line from the Burmese State Railway. Under any circumstances, however, several years must elapse before we can think of committing ourselves to railway enterprise in the Shan States.

Time must be given to these States to recover from the effects of years of anarchy, the value of the commerce must be ascertained by statistical information, and the course in which it naturally flows must be noted. It will be time enough then to embark on railway enterprise. The Salween River is crossed by the following important trade-routes: (1) At the Meungkeu iron-bridge by the high-road from Talifu in Yunnan to Bhamo. There is, further, an important route S.W. from Meungkeu to Namkham, Momeit, and Theinni, and so on to the Irrawaddy. (2) At the Kunlon Ferry, which connects Northern Theinni with the Trans-Salween Shan States. (3) Meungnong or Saileng Ferry, connecting Southern Theinni with the Trans-Salween La States. (4) The Supkat Ferry,

connecting the Central Cis-Salween Shan States with the Trans-Salween Shan (or La?) States of Meungleun, Meunglyem, &c. (5) The Ta-kaw Ferry, where the high-road from Mandalay to Kyaington and Kyaingyongyi, *via* Moné, crosses the Salween. South of Ta-kaw there are other ferries. One or two trade-routes of importance from Siam to Burma pass through the Karen country. The commerce of the territory on either bank of the Lower Salween naturally flows to the port of Moulmein. When peace has brought about a revival of the trade that formerly existed between Burma on the one side, and Soath-Western China and the Trans-Salween Shan and La States on the other, then we shall know where a railway can be constructed to the best advantage. Naturally most of the commerce of Siam will flow to the ports of Bangkok, Tavoy, Moulmein, &c. But that of Yunnán (or at least Western Yunnán) and the country northward from the Ta-kaw Ferry and Kyaingyongyi (Kiang-Hung) should be drawn towards the valley of the Irrawaddy. Were the Salween navigable it would be the natural outlet for this commerce. But the Salween is not navigable.

The building up of our Indo-Chinese Empire will not be the work of a year or two. Negotiation, exploration, or conquest, annexation, pacification, and final settlement are the several stages of progress. It is an undertaking that will for years to come furnish exercise for the best talents of our soldiers and civilian administrators. The foundations of it are already laid. It will be interesting to watch the edifice rise stage by stage until the coping-stone is laid. But where is the coping-stone of an empire? Perhaps not till the period of decadence is inaugurated.

A. C. YATE.

THE TURCOMANS AND THE SKYTHO- GERMANIC RACE.

Is his notable work—"Erân, the Land between the Indus and the Tigris,"—Professor Friedrich Spiegel, the distinguished German Orientalist, says:—"Among the Turkmenes there are, even to this day, a whole number of fair-haired people, with longish skull, comparatively small head, longish chin, and cheek bones of very little prominence."

These are race characteristics not fitting in with Turkish or Mongol descent. In spite of Eranic, Arab, and Turko-Mongol intermixture, which has altered the physical appearance of the tribes that inhabited, in grey antiquity, the present land of the Turcomans or Turkmenes, the blood and the type of an Aryan race still comes up there, by the well-known law of reversion, in a remarkable degree. It is an interesting point; for it has a very likely connection with the martial qualities of the people in question, whose recent inclusion into the boundaries of the Russian Empire may some day become pregnant with danger for England's rule in India. On this latter subject, the author of "*Central Asian Questions*," Mr. Demetrius Boulger, significantly remarks:—

"We deprecate the meeting of the frontiers of England and Russia, but the hour has come for a meeting of responsibilities. Russia will take whatever England will not protect; and what diplomacy may secure to-day, force of arms shall fail to rescue a few years hence. . . . The subjugation of the Turcomans ought to mean the acquisition of the most valuable recruiting ground that she has obtained during the present century. The Turcomans and their excellent horses have always been thought to present the ready means of forming the most formidable irregular cavalry force in Asia. Whether for Russia or against her, they have been frequently considered as the advanced force of the army that will one day assail India, or

as the spear-head of the body that may be created by some reaction and revival throughout Islam for the discomfiture of its bitter and triumphant foe, the Russian Czar."

Remembering this peculiar position and aptitude of the Turkmenic nation, we may well feel some curiosity as to the ancestral stem of that non-Turk, non-Mongol type among them which so startles the observer. Now the simple explanation of the riddle is to be found in the former wide prevalence throughout Central Asia, as well as south-eastern Russia in Europe, of the Scythians, or, as we had better say, the Skyths. A famous people of horsemen, especially in their western nomadic branch, but settled dwellers in towns and villages in farther Asia, they were, according to classic testimony, of tall stature, fair-haired, blue-eyed, and of that white colour of the skin which struck the Romans as a characteristic of the Teutons. When we put together all the statements that have come down to us concerning the Skyths, we find them closely kindred to the Thracians or Thrakians whose noblest tribe was said to be the Getic one. The Getes, in their turn, were clearly the forefathers of the Goths who historically appear exactly in the region where the Getes dwelt, and of whose purely Teutonic character there can certainly not be any question. This Getic or Gothic name occurs in many other, slightly changed forms, such as Gauds, Guttons, Gutans, Geats, Gozzes—a variety of pronunciation both in vowels and consonants which is frequent on Germanic ground. From the Skyths, through the Thrakians, to the Goths, there is thus a manifest kinship of blood.

On account of their bravery the Skyths were held in highest esteem by Alexander the Great. Of the Sogdianic tribe of the Skyths we hear that "powerfully built leaders of theirs, when made prisoners of war and destined to be sacrificed, showed their contempt of death, nay, their delight, by gladsome songs and joyful leaps." A truly Germanic trait—such as we find it in the Nibelung epic, and, of even a grimmer kind, in the corresponding lays of the Edda—is

contained in this grandiose, laughing unconcern at the prospect of personal annihilation.

In a book full of deep learning and careful research, which brings his name at once to the forefront of scholars, Johannes Fressl* says:—

"The vestiges of the Skyths are traceable into the dimmest antiquity. At a time when in Europe civilization had scarcely begun yet, they already stormed through Asia, from beyond the Imaus [Himalaya], as far as the Mediterranean Sea and the land of the Egyptians, with whom they contended as to their prior claim of antiquity. Later on, we find them from the Black Sea, in Europe, throughout Western and Central Asia as far as India, forming, as it were, a semi-arc behind the realms of the Bactrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Makedonians, the Parthians, and the Romans. Numerous tribes issued from these Skyths, such as the Parthians just mentioned; partly, also, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, the Drangians, that is, the Sakastanians, the Margians, and others. They founded and destroyed empires. Inexhaustible were they in ever-renewed war-hosts, as long as their name resounded. Parthians, Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Greeks, Romans, even Chinese, were routed by them. But not in war only did they attain glory; the noblest among them also yearned for learning. They visited Greece, then prominent in art and science; and Abaris and Anacharsis" (Skyths both of them) "are mentioned as not the least among Greek sages themselves. Who, then, were these Skyths?"

A great number of scholars have occupied themselves with the question—from Hugo Grotius and Schilter to Adelung, Ritter, Niebuhr, Klaproth, Böckh, Schafarik, Lindner, Alexander von Humboldt, Zeuss, Diefenbach, Jakob Grimm, Müllenhoff, Kiepert, Penka, and Cuno; to mention only more generally known names. Some looked upon the Skyths as Aryans; others as Mongols. Among those who upheld the Aryan view, some thought they recognized in them kinsmen of the present Lithuanians—who, after all, stand nearest to the Teutons—or possibly Slavs. Others, again, attributed to the Skyths, together with their neighbours the Thracians, a close affinity with the great Germanic stock. This is the view also of Mr. Johannes Fressl; and he has furnished evidence to that effect, both

* "Die Skythen-Saken: die Urväter der Germanen." Von Johannes Fressl. München.

of a historical and linguistic kind, calculated to do away with the last possible doubt.

In fairness it should be stated that Pinkerton, who is too much forgotten to-day even in his own country, had already asserted the Germanic connection of that numerous and warlike people nearly a hundred years ago, in his "*Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths.*" Thrakians and Skyths he held to be Teutons. This was not a fad, not a peculiar notion, of his, as many may be inclined to think who have never given the subject any attention at all. What Pinkerton endeavoured to prove is in accordance with the ancient sources, in which the Thrakian Getes, the Goths, and the Skyths really appear as being of the same kith and kin. A careful comparison of a mass of passages in Greek and Roman writers brings this fact out with the fullest clearness.

Jornandes, or Jordanes, the Gothic historian, had not the slightest doubt that Getes, Goths, and Skyths practically formed the same people. He even uses these names as interchangeable terms. In this son of Alanowamuth, who says that he still knew the old laws, the heroic songs, and the tales of the Goths, the traditions of his nation were certainly yet vivid. Why, then, should we seek to overthrow the concurrent evidence contained both in classical writers and in a Gothic writer himself?

In this connection, Mr. Fressl aptly remarks that the most extraordinary archaeological achievements of modern times—namely, the successful excavations of Dr. Schliemann—have been the result of the faith attached to the statements of ancient authors. Very sensibly he pleads:—

"Let us, then, not attach less credence to Greek and Roman reports in regard to the Skyths, than Schliemann did in regard to the sunken city of Troy—and our reward will not fail us; for the subject we have to deal with is the past of that most powerful people to which we ourselves belong with our flesh and blood, namely, the Skyths, our own ancestors, the brethren of the Thrakians: in other words, the early Teutons. Skyths and Thrakians are as near to each other as any two tribes of

Germans. And the most noteworthy fact is, that the whole region of Troy, the soil on which Schliemann made his discoveries, also stood once under Phrygian, that is, Thrakian, hence aboriginal Germanic, dominion."

This is a view which the writer of the present essay has expressed, and corroborated by evidence, for many years past.

Like the Germans and like the Skyths, the Thrakians who encompassed the Hellenic world in Europe and in Asia Minor, are also described as a tall race, blue-eyed, and of reddish or golden hair. To their very Gods the Thrakians—so Xenophanes wrote 500 years before our era—attributed reddish hair and blue eyes. "In his Gods," as Schiller graphically has it, "man paints himself." A people of wild and reckless bravery, among whom Ares, or Mars, was fabled by the Greeks to have his home; fond of song, and over-fond of the cup; much given to playful drolleries and practical jokes of the Till Eulenspiegel-kind, the Thrakians at the same time produced many thinkers and poets, distinguished scholars, artists, musicians, and singers.

In a great many of these qualities the Skyths shared, and their bodily appearance was the same as that of their neighbours, the Thrakians, who had issued from the Skythian stock. From a passage in Herodotos (iv. 81) we may conclude that, here and there, some admixture of conquered tribes had been added to the conquering Skyths—as has always been the case, under similar conditions, all over the world. But this does not affect the character of the Skytho-Germanic race at large, such as it is described by the ancients. When the same Herodotos (v. 2) says that "the Thrakians are the most numerous among all nations, the Indians excepted, and that, if they were under one leader, or if they acted together, they would be invincible and by far the mightiest among all peoples"—who does not remember the passage in Tacitus, in which he rejoices at the disunion among the Germans as the last security for the Roman Empire? And is it not obvious that Herodotos, by his description of the Thrakians as so immensely numerous,

darkly includes also the Skythian race, although he was not conscious of the full extent of their kinship?

What is now European Turkey and Greece was once filled by the Thrakian stock. Under a great many tribal names—such as Phrygians, Mysians, Dardanians, Lydians, and others—that people inhabited the east of our part of the world, the coasts of the Black Sea, and the western part of Asia Minor. Asia herself had her name, as Herodotos (iv. 45) avers, "not from the consort of Prometheus," but from the Lydo-Thrakian As, the son of Kotys, who was the son of Man: all names easily explainable from Teutonic speech. This Asic name occurs on Thrakian as well as on Skythian ground. We hear in Strabon (xi. 8, 2) of Skythian Ases who originally lived beyond the Jaxartes, where we meet the Massa-Getes, or Great Goths. Strabon also speaks (xi. 2, 11; xii. 3, 29) of the Aspurgians near the Black Sea, whom Ritter ("Vorhalle") has already recognized as dwellers in the Asic Burgh or Castle. We hear from Ptolemaios (vi. 4, 10) of As-Jotes, and (vi. 14, 9) of Skythian Asmans, that is, Asic men, living near the eastern sources of the Volga.

Thus the long-stretched chain of kindred tribes extended from Central Asia, from the territory of the Skythian Massa-Getes, whose name is manifestly a Germanic one, to the Black Sea, where the not less palpably Teutonic Aspurg people dwelt in the neighbourhood of Thrakian Getes, or Goths. Now, from that very region where the "Aspurgers" lived, the immigrant "Asic" conquerors of Scandinavia came. So the tribal saga of the Northmen, as recorded in the Icelandic "*Heimskringla*" (the World-Circle, or World-History), distinctly declares.

An Asic race, under its warlike leader Odin, with his twelve martial temple-priests, made its way from the neighbourhood of the Black Sea through Gardariki (now Russia), Saxon-land (Germany), into Denmark, and across the Sound into Sweden and Norway. This army-leader Odin must not be confused with the God of the same name, though his

image mythically somewhat slides into that form. The priestly knights who accompanied him, called themselves *diar*, that is, Gods or divines, and *drottuar*, masters. Heroic chieftains of early races easily assume magic, semi-divine attributes, in order the better to domineer over a people. After their death they are exalted to heavenly rank.

Odin's original kingdom is said, in the Norse saga, to have been Asa-land, or Asa-home, east of the river Tanais—that is, the Don. Its capital was Asgard (Asa Castle). That certainly reminds us of Strabon's Aspurg people: *gard* and *purg* (burg) having exactly the same meaning. Later on, the name of Asgard was given, in the Norse creed, to the cloud-seat of the Aesir, the Scandinavian gods. In the "Heimskringla" it is also stated that Odin had possessions, farther away from his Asic ones near the Black Sea, in Tyrk-land. In order to understand this well, it must be remembered that the name of Asia, derived from a Lydo-Thrakian king, according to Herodotos, was originally only applied to the peninsula now called Asia Minor. The story about an Asic or Odinic rule in Tyrk-land reads like a half-historical, half-mythical echo of the dominion of a Thrako-Germanic, Skythian people over a Turkish, Mongolic race farther east.

Remarkably enough, Scandinavia is called by later Greek as well as by Gothic and Anglo-Saxon writers, simply "Scythia." Hellenic and Roman writers had previously applied the same name to the south-eastern shores of the Baltic, where already at the time of the Greek traveller Pytheus, in the fourth century before our era, Germanic tribes dwelt—namely, Gutons (Goths) and Teutons. So Plinius reports from fragmentary passages of the lost work of that "Humboldt of Antiquity," as Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles) has been styled. In this way the chain of Skythian connection is traceable from the Black Sea far into Asia, and again back to the Baltic and into Scandinavia. These were the martial and boldly migratory people of whom a remnant is left even among the present Turkmenes.

What is the meaning of the name of the Skyths? Can we explain it in such a way as to shed light on their race connection?

First a word here by way of introduction. The name of the Thrakian Phrygians (Frigians) is explained by Hesychios, from their own language, as that of the "free men." It tallies exactly with the Middle High German word *frigen*, that is, free-men. Among the Thrakian words which have come down to us, there is a considerable number the meaning of which can in the same way be made out from Gothic, from other German languages and dialects, and from Norse. *Skalm*(ê) was the Thrakian expression for the short, broad sword. In Old Norse and Icelandic, that weapon is called exactly so; *skálm*. *Bek*(os) the bread was called among the Phrygians. Who does not think there of the Teutonic word "to bake," which goes in that and similar forms through German, Scandinavian, and English? *Mitra*, the well-known head-dress, is a Thrakian word. It is the German *Mütze*, the Old Norse *motr*. The name of one of the Thrakian rivers is Strymon, palpably meaning *the stream*; German and Danish: *Strom*. *Harma* was the Phrygian word for war. It is connected with the German *Heer*, the Danish *haer*, the Gothic *harjis*, the Old Saxon *herjan*, the English "to harry," and so forth.

These examples might be easily multiplied. I only give them as a parallel to the interpretation of the word "Skyth" from Teutonic speech.

Long ago it has been suspected that Scythian, or Skyth, means a shooter or archer, a *Schütze* (German), a *Skytt* (Swedish), a *Skytte* (Danish). Shooters with the bow and arrow the Skyths eminently were. In their ancestral and heroic saga, reported by Herodotos (iv. 9, 10), who so faithfully and impartially chronicled what he heard, it is stated that the God of Strength (Herakles), the progenitor of three sons in a country once desert, but which the Skyths now inhabit, left his bow and his girdle, from the clasp of which a golden cup hung, to the woman of semi-

human, semi-serpent-like shape, with whom he had begot them. "Tell me," she said, "what I am to do with the children when they are grown up?" "When you see they have come to the age of man," he answered, "you cannot make a mistake when you do this: whichever of them you shall find is capable of bending this bow and girding himself with this belt, make him a dweller in this country; and whichever of them fails in this task I thus enjoin, him send out of the land!" Two of the sons were unable to perform the feat of bending their semi-divine father's bow. The youngest, Skythes, or Skyth, fulfilled the task. Thus he became the ruler of the land, and from him hailed all the successive kings of the Skyths.

It is clear, when we separate the mythic dross from the apparent historical kernel, that Skyth, the successful bender of the bow, was the shooter by pre-eminence, the real "Schütze," "Skytte," or "Skyth"—hence the rightful ruler by the law of the strongest. I need scarcely add that the ending "es" in the name of Skythes is merely one of the customary Greek additions. To this day, "es," "os," or "ios" is added by the Greeks to many foreign personal names.

The light shed by the statements of Herodotos—if only he is read and studied in the proper spirit—upon the pre-historic life and the traditions of various nations often illuminates those dark ages in an extraordinary manner. He reports another saga referring to the three royal brethren in question. It is to this effect, that the golden drinking cup dropped from heaven on Skythian ground; that the eldest, on seeing it first, tried to take it up, but as he came near, the gold began to burn; that the second brother was foiled in the same way; but that, when the youngest went up, the burning fire became extinct. Thereupon to the youngest the others willingly surrendered all power. From him the royal race of the Skyths came, and from the surname henceforth borne by these kings, the Skythians were called the "Skolots."

This reads truly like a Teutonic tale. But what can Skolots, or Skolotians, possibly mean?

The explanation is again a simple one; but owing to the very simplicity of the seeming riddle, the solution had hitherto not been found. That is often the case when men rack their brains with far-fetched interpretations, whilst overlooking the most obvious sense. Thanks to the author of "*The Skytho-Sakians*," we are now put on the right track. Going by the tribal tale of the golden cup which all Skythian kings, in honour of their forefather, and even Skyths in general, wore on their belts, Mr. Johannes Fressl ingeniously points out that Skolots manifestly means the "cup-wearers."

Skala the cup is called in ancient Germanic speech; *Skål* (pronounced *Skol*) it is in Swedish; *Skaal* in Danish; *Schol*, *Scholz* in present German dialects; *Schale* in High German. Thus, even as the name of the Skyths evidently means the shooters or bowmen, in accordance with the saga reported by the Greek historian, so also the Skolotian cognomen is clearly taken from the circumstance related in another tribal tale of theirs, which was current among the Greeks. The explanation thus given once more confirms the Germanic character of the Skyths from their language. Now, as this Skythian blood is still alive in many Turkmenes, there is no difficulty in understanding the non-Turk, non-Mongol race-characteristics which so often crop up in that wildly valorous people of horsemen.

A very remarkable confirmation of the drinking-cup story of the Hellenic Father of History has been found in Skythian grave-mounds, laid bare in Russia in our times. Stone figures, rudely carved, were discovered there of men and women, all of whom most significantly *hold up a beaker with their hands above the girdle*. The drawings from these figures are contained in the large "*Atlas of the Archaeological Society of Moscow*" (1871). In spite of the want of artistic power, we see there Skythian men and women with broad, full faces, but generally longish, narrow noses. The

men are mail-clad almost in mediæval manner, with burganets, or skull caps, as helmets. This armature is by no means surprising; for, from classic writers, we have accounts of a similar get-up of Thrakian warriors. The Skythian men, represented by those ancient stone-figures, wear moustaches. A bowman is represented on one of the stones. The women wear caps and little pointed hats, partly resembling mediæval, partly Tyrolese headgear, which gives them quite a homely Germanic appearance. All the figures, male and female, hold up the cup, breast high—so to say, in reverential manner. This curious fact, I believe, strongly supports the linguistic interpretation of the "Skolot" name by Mr. Fressl.

So far as I know, having made inquiries among a number of distinguished specialists abroad, no explanation has as yet been given of this strange cup-holding of the sculptured Skythian figures. For my part, I unhesitatingly suggest that they are thus purposely characterized as "Skolots"—people wearing the *skol*, or *skål*, in remembrance of their mythic forebear.

A few months ago, after the publication of Mr. Fressl's work, the Skythian question suddenly became very much alive—rose from the dead, as it were—by the extraordinary discovery made in the great mound near Krymskaja, on the Kuban, in south-eastern Russia. The last resting-place of a Skythian king or chieftain was unearthed there. Three grave-chambers, with a connecting passage, were laid bare, the walls of which are constructed of massive, well-hewn slabs of stone, and covered with stucco; the latter decorated with frescoes. The skeletons of a warrior prince and of a young woman were found in the mound together, with the bones of several horses and many remnants of weapons; among them—in accordance with the bowman's character of the race—a silver quiver, overlaid with gold, containing fifty very slender copper arrows, and another similar quiver with about one hundred arrows; also a much rusted sword with a golden hilt. On a large copper tray

there lay, crosswise, two silver drinking horns. Close by were two silver beakers; and on a copper shield two more drinking cups. The mere metal value of these objects is estimated at £8,000 sterling.

The burial of battle horses, with dead warriors, fits in with the customs of the Germans and the Scandinavians, as described in Tacitus, in the Edda, and in other classic and northern writers. The drinking horns, used to this day among the German students, already occur in the report of Xenophon (vii. 3, 21-24), concerning the banquet given in his honour, on his return from Asia, by the Thracian chieftain, Seuth(es). The latter name is, in all probability, the well-known contraction for Siegfried or Seifried, namely, Seyd or Seydt—a name still frequent in Germany.

The banqueting ways and manners of those Thracians were truly Teutonic. Each man sat at his own special table, as was the habit also of the ancient Germans (see Tacitus' "Germania," 22). A series of toasts were given. A white horse—held by our forefathers to be a sacred animal, from whose neighing and snorting priests and kings foretold the future—was presented to Seuth as a gift during the meal. Drinking horns were handed round. Even the Germanic "nail proof" was not wanting (*κατασκεδίαυτο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κίρας*). Then horns and trumpets were blown, and Seuth gaily indulged in various gymnastic feats, like Teutoboch, the captive chieftain of the Teutons, among the Romans. Lastly, jesters came in—as was customary at German banquets far beyond the Middle Ages.

The drinking horns found in the barrow near Krymskaja are common to Skyths, Thracians, and Germans. One of the most interesting objects among the things discovered is a thin triangular gold plate, which evidently formed the main ornament of the buried lady's head-dress. On it the figure of a young man appears, who is offering a drinking horn to a sitting female. Were we to speak of Hindoo, Assyrian, Egyptian, Hebrew, Hellenic, or Roman

antiquity, or even of the Middle Ages, we would expect these figures to be in a different position to each other, so that the woman rather would offer the cup to the man. It was clearly otherwise among the Skyths; and this, again, tallies with what we know of the reverence shown to women by the early Germans at the time of Tacitus.

The Skyths held the female sex, at least in a certain sense, in the highest esteem. Their divine circle was presided over by a Goddess. Often they went to war under queens. The heroism of the Skythian Amazons is well known. If a young Sakian Skyth wooed a virgin, it had to be done in the manner of Gunther's wooing of Brünnhild, as described in the Nibelung epic—"only with this difference," as Mr. Fressl remarks, "that the Sakian custom appears in a milder light than the Germanic one; for the Sakian who engaged in athletic contest with the girl and was defeated, only lost his freedom, whilst the Teuton had thereby forfeited his life." "But who," the same author asks, "can, in presence of this high esteem shown to women by the Skyths, still dare to assert their origin from Mongols, among whom woman has always been, and still is, a mere servant or slave?"

No doubt, contrasts apparently difficult to reconcile are never wanting in human nature. Of the same Skythian people—that is, probably rather of that section of it which lived a more nomad life in the steppes—Herodotos reports that when a king died, one of his concubines was buried with him. To this effect she was strangled. Servants also were sacrificed on such occasions. Heinrich Kiepert, whose merits in the way of elucidating antiquity are the most praiseworthy, and whose maps of the classical world are so excellent, thinks we should conclude from such and other traits of cruelty, that the Skyths cannot have been Teutons, that they must be ranged among the savage Mongols. This I consider a grave historical error.

Voluntary *suttee*, or widow sacrifice on the pyre, was certainly a Thrakian and a Scandinavian custom. True,

among the Germans proper, who attributed to woman-kind "something sacred and prophetic," the custom is not found any longer in historical times, nor even in poetical remembrance. But among their kinsfolk, the early Northmen, servants were sacrificed at the fire-burial of kings and queens, as we see from the description of the funeral of Sigurd and Brynhild, in the Edda. Among the Warangian Northmen who founded the Russian Empire, and whose kings were also polygamous, there was the same horrible custom of strangling a female and burning her at the cremation rite. It seems to me highly probable that these more barbarous manners are traceable to the Thrako-Skythian descent of the conquerors of Scandinavia, who afterwards carved out a kingdom for themselves among the Finnic and Slavic populations of the great eastern plain, and gave it the name of "Russia," which is a Norse, not a Slav name. Before these Asiatic immigrants into Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had reached the North, the Germans proper had already attained a higher standard of humanity.

In the third song of "Sigurd the Dragon-Killer," in the Edda, Brynhild chides and sneers at Gudrun because the latter, though the dead hero's wedded wife, will not mount the pyre with him. Brynhild, his former love, does. Giving orders for the erection of the structure, she says:—

Bedeck the pile with shields and garments,
With funeral cloth and a *hest of slain* !
And the Hunic king burn at my side !
Near the Hunic king *burn my household slaves*,
Adorned each with costly chains :—
Two at our heads, two at our feet ;
Two hounds thereto, two hawks as well.
Thus all things are allotted alike : . . .
Let also lie between us both
The ring-set sword, the keen-edged steel,
Again so placed as when the couch we ascended,
And were then called by the name of consorts . . .
For him will follow five female thralls ;
Retainers eight, of gentle race,
Fostered with me, brought up with me,
Whom to his daughter Eudl gave.

All this looks very Skythian. Yet it is in a Norse-Germanic record.

The reference to Sigurd as "the Hunic King" may perhaps astonish and be incomprehensible to many. Even so excellent a Norse scholar as the late Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson, thought these references to Huns in the Edda ought to be struck out. Seeing that Sigurd, or Siegfried, is a Rhenish, a German hero, even in the Edda, Dr. Vigfusson proposed replacing the word "Huns" by "Cheruskians;" his idea being that Siegfried was but a legendary name for Armin or Hermann, the Cheruskian Deliverer of Germany from the Roman yoke. In the controversy which arose upon the subject I showed—what Mr. Vigfusson afterwards avowed he had not known—that this identification of Siegfried with Armin had been one of the many strange surmises put forward already some forty or fifty years ago. As to the Hunic name, I gave, in *The Academy*, the full proof that a people called Hunes, who of course had nothing whatever to do with the Mongolic Hunns of Attila, once inhabited north-western Germany, where the scene of Siegfried's adventures is laid. Baeda, or Bede, the Anglo-Saxon monk, mentions them. They were among the German tribes who aided in the Making of England. Hence the many place-names compounded with "Hun," in England as well as in Germany. Anglo-Saxon and other German personal names are equally so compounded. According to Olaus Magnus, a tribe called Hunes also lived in Sweden. It was only after the Great Migrations that this purely Teutonic name was mixed up with the Hunns: and then the scene of the revenge of Siegfried's death—which in the Edda is laid on the Lower Rhine, in the country of Atli, the German Hunic king—was erroneously shifted, in the Nibelung epic, to the Danube, where Attila ruled.

This may seem a digression; but it is not. To the Hunes (or *Hunas*, as the Anglo-Saxons said) in England, in north-western Germany, and in Sweden, correspond, to all appearance, the *Hunas* of India. According to Wilson,

they were "the White Huns, or Indo-Skythians, established in the Panjab and along the Indus at the commencement of our era." In the Middle Ages, a race called "Huna" formed a division of the Kshatrijas, or warrior caste—certainly a proof of their Aryan, non-Mongolic, non-Dravidian origin. In this way we again get the several links of the great Skytho-Germanic chain from Southern and Central Asia to Germany, Scandinavia, nay, even England.

Those who would attribute a Mongol origin to the Skyths on account of certain barbarous customs among some of their tribes, may also be referred to the heroic age of the Greeks. When Agamemnon orders the fire-burial of Patroklos (*Iliad*, xxiii. 171-76), have we not there an exact companion-picture to the Skythian and Scandinavian rites? Horses and hounds were sacrificed; also "twelve brave sons of the noble Trojans whom he had slaughtered"—and then the flame was allowed to rage over the pyre. Agamemnon was an offspring from the Phrygo-Thrakian race of Atreus and Pelops. No wonder the early Hellenic (in reality Thrakian, that is, Germanic) hero-life shows such striking kindred traits with the Skythians and Scandinavians.

The ornaments found in the mound near Krymskaja are evidently, in part, the product of Greek art, owing to the contact into which the Skyths, in the course of many centuries, had gradually come with the Hellenic world. Upon the whole, the Skythic race proudly kept aloof from foreign customs—at least, in olden times. Yet, together with the Thrakians, they constituted, in an arc of vast extension, a kind of martial protection for Hellenic civilization, although at the same time often warring with the Greeks. I hold the Trojan war of ten years to be, not so much a poetical enlargement as a poetical condensation of the struggle which for centuries went on between Hellenes and Thrakians, and of which the beleaguering of Troy was but an incident. In this siege, Hellenized descendants of Thrakians themselves took part. It is but a leaf from the too

well-known history of denationalized Teutons struggling against their own race. However, in a speech addressed to Alexander the Great, the Skyths still called themselves, with good right, "the guardians of Asia and Europe"—in other words, the bulwark against the irruption of the more savage Mongol hordes.

Not a few Skyths, as well as Thrakians, became personally Hellenized, when they contributed in war and in peace to the glory of Greece. It was from the Thrakians, the kinsmen of Germans and Skyths, that Hellas, according to her own confession, mainly received the cult of the Muses (comp. Strabon x. 3. 17)—that is, music, as well as poetry which in early times is always connected with it. Many divine figures in the Greek Pantheon, many of the hero tales of the Hellenes, are of Thrakian origin. A whole work might be written on the many distinguished men in Greece that were of Thrakian descent; that country itself having been largely occupied by Thrakians before the in-coming of the Hellenes. To mention but one instance which is less generally known: Thukydides, the historian, was from the mother's side—through Kimon, the son of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon—a descendant of the Thrakian king Olor(os). It is undoubtedly the Old Norse name Olafr. A mass of such facts might be put together, which would certainly give us a somewhat changed picture of the Hellenic world. Under not a few Greek names of great renown, the progeny of Skytho-Thrakians are hidden—including some philosophers of distinction.

Certain Skythian names are identical with Thrakian ones, and their explanation from Germanic roots is not difficult. Among the Thrakian names which it seems easy thus to understand are, besides Seuth, those of Sitalk(es); Sparadok(os) or Spartak(os); in Latin form, Spartacus, for that famous gladiator and leader of rebel captives or slaves was a Thrakian, too; of Ter(es), and many others. A truly Teutonic appearance have also the Skythian names, Agathyr(s), Idanthyr(s), Gnur(os), Spargapis(es) or Spargapith(es).

Like Spartak, Spargapith is evidently one of the spear-names so frequent among the Teutons, and which have their counterpart in English names like Shakspeare, Brakspère, &c. Skythian and Greek (that is, in all probability originally Thrakian, and then Hellenized) names composed with "Ida," or "Id," are matched by the well-known Teutonic name, which was once borne by men and women alike, and which is now still a female name. Ida, the Flame-bearer, the Anglian chieftain, who came over to the north-eastern coast of this country, and struggled powerfully against the Welsh, will easily occur to Englishmen.

Ida was the name of the famous mountain in Krete, on which Zeus was brought up by the Thrakian goddess Rheia. From Krete, an original settlement of Thrakians, a war-host went forth to Asia Minor, where they founded Troy. There we find again a mountain called Ida! Now, whether the one in Crete or the one in Asia Minor was first so called, this identity of appellations at all events reminds us how the German invaders of Britain also transferred the names of their original homes beyond sea to their new settlements here; and how their descendants, the English, once more have given the same names to their settlements in America, in Africa, in Australia, wherever they went.

More still; the Ida mountains of Krete and of the Troad have their curious mythic counterpart on Scandinavian soil, which was settled by Asic-Odinic conquerors from the shores of the Black Sea. The highest place in Asgard, the welkin stronghold of the Norse Aesir or Gods, is called *Ida-völlr*, *Ida-field*. On the Kretan Ida, divine or semi-divine personages, daimons or priests, were said to have been great magicians and proficient workers in metal. In the Edda (see "*Völuspá*," or the Song of the Prophetess, 7) we hear:

*The Aesir met on Ida-field.
Altars and temples high they there constructed.
Their strength they proved: all things they tried.
Furnaces they built, and ore they forged;
Things they wrought, and formed tools.*

The coincidence is a remarkable one; for both the "Ida" name and the legend of the Daktyls connected with that mountain in Krete and in Asia Minor have thus their echo in the Norse Asgard. But when we remember the original home of the Asic warrior-clan who, under Odin's leadership, overcame the Finnish and Lapp aborigines, subduing them—as we see from the Eddic "Lay of Rigr"—into thralldom, we again clearly see the link between Kretan and Trojan antiquity on the one hand, and the early North Germanic race on the other, whose country was in historical times still called Scythia.

Remarkably enough, the road taken by these immigrants from the Black Sea into Scandinavia can be traced even now by the peculiar type of prehistoric swords latterly found on a line which seems exactly to fit in with the way they went, according to the "*Heimskringla*." This results, I am convinced, from a publication, with illustrations, of the prominent Munich archaeologist, Dr. Julius Naue. As to Krete, Dr. Max Ohnefalsch Richter has clearly established, by his recent excavations, the existence of what he also calls now a "Phrygo-Thrakian period" in that island, antecedent to Babylonian influence and to Phœnikian and Greek settlements there.

Even as the Skyths correspond in race-characteristics to the Thrakian and other Germanic folk, so also their mythology, as far as we know it, shows curious affinities with the heathen Germanic creed. The Goddess who stood at the head of their divine circle is by the Greeks described as Histiê (Vesta), the Protectress of the Hearth, in whose honour an ever-glowing fire was kept alive, and the presiding genius of domestic life. She reminds us of the Teutonic Freia, whose "Berchta" or Bertha cognomen is derived from the fire, and who in this form was especially the guardian of housewifely duties. No worship was more difficult to eradicate among the Germanic races than that of Freia, or Holda, as she also was called. In order to overcome the strong popular resistance, many attributes and

legends referring to that Goddess had to be attached to the name and figure of the Virgin Mary of the new creed. The paramount reverence shown to the Skythian Goddess is thus fully matched by the Freia cult, which even now has its strong survival in many German tales about Berchta, Holda, Frau Holle, and kindred mythic figures of a semi-erotic, semi-domestic nature.

An apparently insignificant, yet, to the student of folklore, rather telling point may here be mentioned, which seems to link a Skythian proverbial saying with a Teutonic myth. In one of the tales collected by the brothers Grimm, it is said that it snows in the world when Frau Holle makes her bed, shaking it so that the feathers fly about. Curiously enough, the Skyths, too, described the snow as feathers! "Old wives' feathers" is a saying even now used in England for the snow. But why "old wives'," or, as it would perhaps be more correct to write, "Old Wife's feathers"? The answer to this question is virtually contained in Grimm. There, the Germanic Aphrodite and guardian of house-motherly life has already the appearance of an old woman, whilst her abode is still depicted in attractive colours, exactly like that of the Goddess Freia—namely, as situated on the bottom of a well, where there is a meadow with thousands of beautiful flowers, over which the sun shines.

Still more remarkably, we learn from the Greeks that, next to Histië, the Goddess of Domesticity, the Skyths propitiated Zeus, "deeming the Earth to be the wife of Zeus." Is this not exactly what was said of All-father Odin, whose first consort was Jörd, the Earth? The other chief deities of the Skyths may easily be compared to Balder or Freyr (Apollon), to Frigg (Aphrodite Urania), to Thor (Herakles), to Tyr (Ares), and to Niörd (Poseidon).

"They are not accustomed"—Herodotos says of the Skyths—"to erect images, altars, and temples, except to Ares; to him they are accustomed to do so." He also mentions that they raise swords on a pile of wood, "each tribe placing one there; and that is the image of Ares."

This absence, or rarity, of closed temples and sanctuaries is quite in keeping with the habits of the earliest Teutons. The worship of the God of War under the image of a sword was common to Skyths, Getes, Dakians, Markomans, Alans, Quads—all of them Germanic tribes. The Old Norse rune which represents Tyr, the God of War, is in the form of a sword. To swear by the sword was the universal German custom throughout the Middle Ages. Thus there is an extraordinary concurrence also in religion between the Skyths and the Teutons.

Being distributed all over Asia and south-eastern Europe, several tribes of the Skyths naturally differed very much in civilization. Those living in Central and Eastern Asia were far more highly cultured than their western brethren who roamed over the Steppe. The latter mostly wandered about as rude hordes of horsemen, having their dwellings in waggons—even as the ancient Germans were used to, when going, as Teutons and Kimbrians, or as Goths, on a distant war-path.

On the other hand, the Skyths of Central Asia lived, since ancient times, in towns and villages.

"As soon as they were settled," says Mr. Fresel, "Skyths at once attained that degree of culture which was natural to their high intellectual gifts; worthily coming up, as they did, to the standard of civilized nations, more especially of their kinsmen—the Persians, the Medians, and the Bactrians. They built towns and castles like these. They tilled the soil so that they had an abundance of corn, wherewith to supply the Persians in case of need. They also devoted themselves to science and various arts. Ptolemaios mentions twenty-four Skythian towns and villages in the country of the Parthians, among which the city of Hekatompylos reminds us of Thebes in Egypt, with its hundred gates; also five towns in Margiana, seventeen in Bactria, ten in Sogdiana, eleven towns and villages in Drangiana, and so forth. These are countries in which a Skythian population was the prevailing one."

One of the Skythian tribes was distinguished for its proficiency in making iron and steel. The Greek word for steel bears its name. Parthian Skyths wore helmets and armour in the struggles against Crassus. Their horses even were protected by armour, so that the whole appear-

ance of their cavalry must have been that of mediæval knights. Among some of the Thrakian tribes there was a similar armature: they wore brazen helmets, with the ears and horns of an ox in brass; and over them, crests (Herodotos, vii. 76). That again brings to recollection what Plutarch says of the helmets and iron breast-plates of the Kimbrians.

In Diodoros we read of a mighty sepulchral monument, raised by the Sakian Skyths, in honour of their queen. It was in the form of a pyramid, 600 feet high, and 1800 feet in circumference. At the top a large golden statue was placed. The structure had been erected in the seventh century before our era; and the natural inference is, that a long period of civilization must have preceded the accomplishment of such a work. There are many passages in classic writers testifying, not only to the martial inclinations of the Skyths, but also to their intellectual qualities, their readiness of wit and repartee, and even their powers of invention. Whether rightly or wrongly, the Greeks attributed to Anacharsis the invention of the bellows, of the double-fluked anchor, and of the potter's wheel.

Aischylos speaks of the Skyths as "governed by good laws." Strabon, who quotes him, adds:

"And this is still the opinion held of them by the Greeks; for we esteem the Skyths the most sincere, the least deceitful of any people. . . . The letters of the Persians are full of acknowledgments of this open-heartedness of theirs, which I have described. So are the chronicles of the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Indians."

Do not classic writers attribute to the German race similar traits of character?

The difference in civilization among the various tribes of the Skythian stock is also dwelt upon by the ancients. Whilst some of them were barbarous, others, we are told, were so mild in manners as even to abstain from the use of animal food. All authors of antiquity concur in saying that this people "excels all men in justice." Who can wonder that great light and deep shade should alternate in the

habits of so widely diffused a people? If we can trust certain sources, there were Skythians who held all things in common, "even their women and children—who were cared for," Strabon quietly remarks, "according to the system of Platon." Repulsive as this is, the fact of so great a Greek philosopher having fallen into the same deplorable way of thinking, and the not less characteristic circumstance of Strabon adding his remark without any criticism, are calculated to restrain us from too severe a judgment. That which a Platon could extol as a model institution may at least be understood as a barbarous survival in some ruder Skythian tribe of archers, riding and waggoning about without a settled home in the vast plain.

Throughout Asia and Europe, Johannes Fressl traces the names of countries, mountains, rivers, and towns from the Skythians of old—names partly existing to this day. Many will be astonished to learn that Samarkand, or Marakanda, as it was once called, can be explained from the Gothic language, so far as this curious double form is concerned. Here I may add that those who are not acquainted with that noble Teutonic tongue, which is fortunately preserved to us in Ulfila's translation of the Bible, might well, on seeing a specimen of it, regard it as the language of some Redskin tribe or some Mongol horde.

"*Bi akranam isō ufkunnaith ins, ibai lisanda af thaurnum veinabasja aiththau af wigadeinōm smakkans.*" Or: "*Gasaihvandeins than manageins bhtēdun sildaleikjandans jah mikilidēdun guth thana gibandun valdiufni swaleikata mannam.*" Who, on comparing this with modern German, unless he knew Gothic, would ever conceive that the former is a daughter-language of the latter? Yet so it is; and the Gothic sentences just given are the purest Teutonic speech, full of strongest roots, and of most forcible flexion. Had the Gothic language not been handed down to us, who knows whether the perversity of certain scholars would not have declared the Goths to have been a Mongol tribe; in the same way as some of those who have not given suffi-

cient attention to the history, the race affinity, and the language-remnants of the Skyths, try to assign these latter to a Turkish race?

The Thrakians and the Goths both issued from the Skythian stem. Among all Germanic nations, from early times, tribal disunion, the war between brethren, has been the great evil from which they have mutually suffered. Even as the Greek historian saw that the divisions among the Thrakians prevented them from becoming invincible, so the Roman historian, five hundred years later, exclaimed in regard to the Germans :—" Oh, that to these populations, such is my earnest prayer, may for ever attach, if not friendship for us, at least the hatred among themselves, because now that the fate of the Empire is to be decided with ever more threatening urgency, Fortune can offer us nothing better than the continuance of discord among our foes!"

Through this same want of union the Skyths fell. Yet, in the Greek defence against the Persian irruption, they had given a lofty example of the spirit of freedom and independence to Ionian Hellenes. The example set, and the advice tendered, by the Skyths, were unfortunately not followed by the Greeks, although Miltiades, himself of Thrakian descent, had counselled its adoption. Thereupon, the Skyths sent a message after the Ionians, full of the bitterest satire.

The great Thrako-Skythian bulwark of Europe and Asia being broken, our part of the world was visited by one Tatar, Hunnic, Mongol, and Turkish invasion after the other. The irony of Fate has so willed it that a remnant of those Skythians should racially linger among the Turkmenes, who had hitherto been a stumbling-block in the path of Muscovite aggression—aye, that now they should be among those whom the autocratic Czar might one day hurl against an Empire built up in Southern Asia by a progressive Anglo-Saxon people, whose sway has spread culture and given peace to the vast populations of India.

KARL BLIND.

JOHN BAPTISTE AND THE FILOSE FAMILY.

WE have received the following account of an Italian soldier of fortune, one of the most remarkable of the European adventurers who rose to the highest rank in the services of the Princes of India, from his grandson, Sir Michael Filose, of Gwalior, who has been kind enough to have it specially prepared for publication in this Review. It may be accepted as a welcome contribution to the history of a critical period in India:—

The founder of the Filose family in India was an Italian of the name of Michael Filose, who, after many wanderings reached Calcutta about the year 1770. There he made the acquaintance of a Frenchman, by name La Fontaine, who held high office under Aligohur, titular Emperor of Delhi, and representative of the great Moghuls. La Fontaine was enjoying furlough in Calcutta when Filose met him, and he treated the stranger with such kindness, and held out such hopes of military employment, that Filose resolved to make India his home. Through La Fontaine's influence Filose soon obtained employment under the Nawab of Oudh, and, on being married, he took up his abode in Faizabad, then the capital of Oudh. There, in March, 1775, his eldest son was born. Before he was a year old he was baptized by the Rev. Father Vindele, of Agra, receiving the name of Jean Baptiste. When he grew up, he generally wrote his name in the English fashion, John Baptist; and natives always speak of him as "Jan Bapteest," omitting his family name altogether.

Shortly after the birth of his son, Michael Filose left the service of the Nawab of Oudh, having received a better appointment from the Rana of Gohud, chief of the Jats, and

now represented by the Rana of Dholepore. He did not think it advisable to take his wife with him to Gohud, but left her in Agra, where their second son Fidele was born. Michael Filose did not remain long at Gohud. Maharaja Sindhia was then forming a force trained in the European fashion under an Italian officer, the celebrated General De Boigne. While Sindhia's European officers of various nationalities were, on the whole, liberally treated, the Rana of Gohud was a capricious master. Michael Filose left him and went to Gwalior, where he received the command of a regiment which he gradually increased until it became as strong as well as a very efficient brigade.

By this time Filose's first friend, La Fontaine, had returned to Delhi, where he was high in the emperor's favour. Having no children of his own, he wished to adopt John Baptiste, and as Michael Filose now had a second son, Fidele, he consented. John Baptiste was sent to Delhi, and adopted by La Fontaine, from whom he ever afterwards received the greatest kindness. That his education might not be neglected, La Fontaine took him down to Calcutta, where he could learn French and Italian. The lad showed both aptitude and diligence. He won the good will of his teachers and the admiration of his school-fellows. After four years La Fontaine was again in Calcutta, and being greatly pleased with the progress and promise of his adopted son, he took him with him on his return to Delhi. There he was regularly practised in all military exercises, while at the same time acquiring a good knowledge of Persian and Arabic.

Hitherto I have traced the career of John Baptiste Filose briefly. He was now a little over twelve years of age, but remarkably strong built and cheerful. One day, when La Fontaine with the officers under him presented themselves in Durbar, he was ordered by the emperor to send part of his force against Bhumbho Khan, the contumacious Nawab of Suharunpore. Thereupon young Filose said that, if it were not considered presumption on his part,

he would offer to lead the expedition, and thus show his capacity, supporting his request by the Persian verse : " While the sword is in the sheath its temper is unknown. The pearl of price is unvalued till hung in the ear."

At first La Fontaine was unwilling to entrust the boy with such service. But after reflecting for some time on his ability and high promise, he took off his sword and gave it to John Baptiste, saying, " Take this, my son, as your commission ; win or die ! " To render the young commander's duty the easier, he gave him a strong force consisting of two regiments of infantry, four guns, and a body of cavalry. With these he set out against the Nawab Bhumboo Khan. His attack on Suharunpore was so spirited that after two hours' fighting Bhumboo Khan and his Afghans, though three times as numerous as Filose's force, fled from the fort and escaped to the jungle. Filose took possession of the fort, and ruled there for about two months. But he soon found himself in greater danger from his own men than ever he had been in from the enemy. The pay of the soldiers was many months in arrears, and they proposed to imprison their commander to compel La Fontaine to make a settlement of accounts. Becoming aware of this, Filose left them suddenly on a swift horse, and rode straight into Delhi in twenty-four hours. Four men were sent in pursuit of him, but they failed to overtake him. He reached Delhi in safety, and, as may be believed, was joyfully received by his father, La Fontaine.

By the success of this, his first military command, John Baptiste won a character for courage and ability. The Maharaja Sindhia heartily congratulated Colonel Michael Filose on hearing of his son's feat, while the Emperor of Delhi conferred on young Filose the rank of captain, with the command of a regiment. But La Fontaine considered it imprudent to place a boy, however precocious, in such a position, and by various excuses prevented him from actually taking command of the regiment to which he had been appointed. He was a man of sense as well as of kindness,

and he saw that school was a more suitable place than a regiment for a boy of thirteen. Accordingly with the emperor's consent he again took his adopted son to Calcutta, and placed him in an English school. There he remained for four years, during which time he acquired a good knowledge of English as well as of other subjects then usually taught in schools. When he reached his seventeenth year La Fontaine arranged a marriage between him and his god-daughter, Margaret Peacock, daughter of an Englishman, Major Adam Peacock.

It has been already stated that Captain Filose's father was Michael Filose, and that he had a younger brother, by name Fidele. In 1793 the Maharaja Madhoji Sindhia found it necessary to look after his interests in the Deccan. Accordingly he proceeded to Poona with a strong force, the regular battalions of which were commanded by Hensing and Michael Filose, both of whom had the rank of colonel. The force under Colonel Filose amounted to eight battalions, and was in every way very efficient. Early in 1794 Maharaja Madhoji Sindhia died near Poona. He left no sons, and although he had intended adopting Doulut Rao, the son of one of his nephews, the ceremony of adoption had not been completed. Moreover, Doulut Rao's succession was opposed by the widow of Maharaja Madhoji Sindhia. At the same time Nana Fardnuvis, the Peshwa's Minister, laid a plot to seize Colonel Filose's camp, and thus bring the best part of Sindhia's army under his control. But Colonel Filose discovering this design at once sent for the young Maharaja Doulut Rao Sindhia, then at Yuljapur, and had him installed with the utmost speed and secrecy. Having thus placed Doulut Rao on the throne, Colonel Filose forthwith introduced him to the Peshwa, and, by his excellent arrangements, got for his young master the usual khillat of recognition as Maharaja Sindhia. Even Nana Fardnuvis had to accede to the appointment. Finding himself outwitted, he began to plot the capture of Doulut Rao, and secretly offered Colonel

Filose two lacs of rupees to effect the capture. In place of accepting this offer Colonel Filose revealed it to his new master. At that time the Maharaja Doulut Rao was a minor and his affairs were managed by Surje Rao Ghatgay. In 1797 Surje Rao instructed Colonel Filose to invite Nana Fardnuvis to an interview, and to guarantee his safe return. As the European officers in Sindhia's service were considered men of strict honour, Nana Fardnuvis accepted Colonel Filose's invitation, and visited Sindhia. The old minister, however, was made prisoner by Surje Rao, and, notwithstanding Colonel Filose's remonstrances, he was sent to the Fort of Nagar. This treachery to which he had in a measure, though quite unintentionally, contributed was a bitter grief to Colonel Filose, who threw up his commission, and set out for Bombay, intending to return to Italy. Maharaja Doulut Rao used every effort to induce him to return to his service, but without success. Afterwards the Maharaja appointed Fidele Filose to his father's place, and put under his command the twelve regiments that formed his body-guard.

M. la Fontaine, now finding himself growing old, begged the Emperor of Delhi to transfer his title of Itmad-ul-dola to his adopted son, John Baptiste Filose. The emperor, considering that it was well to make such titles hereditary among faithful servants, agreed. Captain Filose was now in his twenty-second year, and La Fontaine, having every confidence in his ability, made over to him all his offices and estates. The old man lived in retirement for some months until he died in March, 1797.

Some time after this event Captain J. B. Filose's request for active employment was favourably received by the Maharaja Doulut Rao, and Colonel Fidele Filose was instructed to invite his brother to Court that he might be appointed to the command of Haryana in place of Appa Khundoo Rao. John Baptiste at once proceeded to Delhi, taking his family with him. On the way their carriage was upset, and the wheel passed over Filose's chest, injuring

him so severely that he ever after had a certain difficulty in breathing. On reaching Delhi his first care was to provide suitable lodging for his family. He then paid a visit to Poona, where he was introduced to the Maharaja by his brother. The Maharaja received him kindly, invested him with a handsome khillat, and appointed him to the command of Haryana, a district to the west of Delhi. In his commission he is styled Itmad-ul-dola, Captain John Baptiste Filose. Three regiments of Hindustani troops were placed under his command. With these he set out from Poona for Rewaree, the headquarters of Haryana, and formed his camp on the great plain in front of that town.

John Baptiste had from his earliest years made himself agreeable to all with whom he came into contact by his intelligence and good nature. His father was, as I have said, an Italian, and his mother, who bore the name of Magdalena, was an Indian born lady. His face was round, and his figure was marked by the great length of body in proportion to his limbs. In all his habits he was extremely simple. It was his custom to take his meals twice in the course of twenty-four hours; but he was easily satisfied. His features had at the first glance a certain degree of severity, indicating the resolution, not to say obstinacy, of the man. But with those who knew him he was very accessible and friendly. He was neither greedy of money nor extravagant, but lived systematically within his income. When people came about him for the purpose of tattling or backbiting they found scant favour. But he always received his equals with marked courtesy, and in their company he was facetious and merry, and enjoyed a joke very heartily. He was fond of music, and had considerable skill as a verse-writer. He was always laborious in the discharge of his duties, and very patient under the inconveniences incident to active military service. In a society where chastity was little valued, he was faithful to his wife, a woman who indeed deserved all his love. He was always kind to the helpless and to orphans, and as his means increased so did

his liberality towards charitable institutions. He was a member of the Catholic Church, and very regular in his attendance on the services when he had the opportunity. The above sketch represents Captain Filose as a man of many virtues and few vices—a view of his character that will be confirmed as this history proceeds.

John Baptiste Filose no doubt considered himself fortunate when he got the command of Hariana. But he soon found himself beset by difficulties. The neighbourhood of Rewaree swarmed with rebels, while the officers of the State were careless and inefficient. His own force was small, and its fidelity doubtful. This led him to raise three new regular regiments besides two irregular companies, and in these he could place confidence. One regiment was sent against Narnole, of which it soon gained possession, and the revenue of the surrounding districts was then regularly collected. Rao Badal Rao was next called to account. He had long been a defaulter, and now raised as many difficulties as possible; but, finding he could make no effectual resistance, he submitted, and promised regular payment of revenue. These successes, unfortunately for Filose, roused the jealousy of General Perron, who had succeeded General De Boigne as commander-in-chief of Sindhia's regular troops. Filose was desirous of coming to an understanding with the general, and for that purpose he proceeded to Bahadurgurh, a few miles west of Delhi, where Perron then had his headquarters. At first the general seemed reasonable and even friendly, and this induced Filose to visit him in his camp. Here, however, he was placed under arrest, and a strong guard was posted round his tent, from which he was not allowed to depart. Filose's soldiers were indignant at this treatment of their commander, and were eager to make an attack on Perron's force. Filose, however, restrained them, and persuaded them to wait for the orders of the Maharaja.

But as they had now no leader they lost heart and dispersed to their several villages. Captain Filose was

taken into Delhi, and there Perron kept him and his family under arrest for ten months. At last through the efforts of Colonel Fidele Filose the Maharaja Doulut Rao sent a letter to General Perron for Captain J. B. Filose's release, and he was accordingly set at liberty. The sorrow of this indignity was still upon his heart when a more bitter grief followed. Surje Rao Ghatgay, the Maharaja's father-in-law, was a man of great influence; but he is described by all who have written of those times as an unmitigated scoundrel. He now began to accuse Fidele Filose of being in correspondence with Juswunt Rao Holkar, and of seeking an opportunity to betray his master Sindhia. These false accusations and the constant hostility of Surje Rao so preyed on the mind of Fidele Filose that he committed suicide. The Maharaja himself seems to have been perfectly satisfied with Fidele Filose, for he at once summoned John Baptiste Filose to his head-quarters at Gwalior, raised him to the rank of major, and offered him the command of his body-guard. But the major begged to be permitted to return to Delhi. Maharaja Sindhia then ruled in Delhi nominally as representative of the Great Moghul though he was in reality master of Hindustan. He now appointed Major Filose commandant of the city, and this office he held for two years. The effects of Filose's judgment and attention to business were soon apparent in the peace and safety both of the city itself and of the surrounding country. So highly did the emperor appreciate his services that he ordered him to be always attended by six standard-bearers when he rode out, and conferred on him other marks of distinction.

After two years thus spent in Delhi John Baptiste Filose was summoned to Gwalior, and ordered by Maharaja Sindhia to reduce Bhanpur Rampur. This proved an easy operation, for as soon as he appeared before the town Sham Rao Marik abandoned it and fled. Thus Major Filose obtained possession without striking a blow in the last months of 1803. The same year war broke out

between Sindhia and the English. In August General Lake marched from Cawnpore, captured Alleegurh, Delhi, and Agra, drove the Mahrattas out of Hindustan, and deprived Sindhia of all his possessions north of the Chambal. As his territories were thus restricted, he resolved to have obedience and regular payment of revenue from all that remained. Major Filose was therefore employed in reducing refractory chiefs, sometimes in Bundelkhund and Malwa in the east and south, sometimes in Rajputana on the west.

Shortly after the severe defeat that Maharaja Doulut Rao sustained at Ajinta Ghat Major Filose took Ashta, Sehore, Bhilsa, and other places in Malwa. These had formerly belonged to Maharaja Holkar, and they offered no serious resistance to Sindhia's forces. The fort of Khundwa, however, stood a siege of four months, but it also had to yield. Having thus thoroughly subdued and settled the province of Malwa, Major Filose established his head-quarters at Seepree, where he was able to render valuable assistance to the defeated army of Maharaja Doulut Rao. All the guns and munitions of war had been lost in the fatal engagement at Ajinta. But Major Filose received information that Shahamut Khan, brother of Mooneer Khan, was proceeding towards Malwa with sixty guns and a well-furnished force of horse and foot. He set out one evening, and by a forced march of thirty-five miles in one night fell upon them unexpectedly in the morning, and captured the whole of the sixty guns, among which there was a battery of siege guns, still preserved at Jhansi. Shortly after the Maharaja, having visited Bhilsa and Chitavar, reached Seepree. Major Filose gave him a brilliant reception, and afterwards presented to him the excellent guns he had just taken from Shahamut Khan. The Maharaja was greatly pleased with his ability and loyalty, and conferred on him the rank of colonel. The commission is drawn in the name of Itamad-ul-dola, Colonel John Baptiste Filose, Bahadur Burg-i-jang. At the same time he received a handsome khillat.

To make up in some measure for his losses, especially

of war materials, Sindhia resolved to seize Saugor, and the operation was entrusted to Colonel Filose. After a siege of twenty-one days the town submitted and was given up to plunder. Enormous wealth was obtained, most of which was spent in the service of the State. There was also a vast amount of *matériel* in the arsenal, and Colonel Filose was thus able to cast cannon and prepare ammunition on a large scale.

When Colonel Filose had thus distinguished himself by so many successful undertakings, probably standing higher in Sindhia's favour than any of the other foreign officers, jealousy began to appear in various quarters. The Maharaja Holkar had employed a few Europeans, but he had never placed full confidence in them. He now reminded Sindhia, in one of their private interviews, that he was on bad terms with the English, and that, under the circumstances, it was unsafe to place Colonel Filose in such a high position. For should these foreign officers join the English, as they probably would, Sindhia would find it impossible to defend himself. He therefore recommended that on some excuse or other Filose should be placed under arrest. The colonel had also a treacherous enemy in another man of the name of Juswunt Rao, a Brahmin then serving as his *munshi* or secretary. The suspicions of the Maharaja Doulut Rao having been stirred up in this way he offered to confer the rank of colonel on Pundit Juswunt Rao if he would effect Colonel Filose's arrest. In furtherance of this plan the Maharaja sent a letter to the colonel ordering him to return from Malwa to Saugor with his force. Though he considered it very injurious to his province thus to leave it, yet having received positive orders he set out for Saugor. As he approached the Maharaja's camp, Pundit Juswunt Rao advised him not to come in during the day-time as that might seem making an extravagant show, but to come in quietly at night without military music. At the same time he should keep his force in good order as if ready for action. Colonel Filose followed this advice. But when he came in

to the camp he was told that the Maharaja had gone to sleep and would receive him in the morning. The circumstances seemed to the colonel altogether strange, but remembering that Indian Princes are apt to be capricious he felt no alarm. The Brahmin had now gained his object. He impressed upon the Maharaja the fact that Filose had come in during the night and silently, like the leader of a robber band, and that if precautions were not taken he would suddenly fall upon Sindhia's army and destroy it. The chief officers of Filose's force were summoned to the presence and ordered to arrest their commander. But one and all refused to take any part in such an unworthy action. Finding how matters stood the Maharaja sent two of his officers to invite Colonel Filose to an interview, and immediately on his arrival he was arrested. Though boiling with rage at this indignity he considered it his duty, as a faithful servant, to offer no resistance.

As soon as the news of Filose's imprisonment got abroad his troops and friends raised a great outcry. The Maharaja feared a mutiny of the whole force. He thereupon appointed Pundit Juswunt Rao colonel and commandant, with orders at once to remove his camp to Banswara, where the indignation might die out.

Colonel Filose remained under close arrest for eighteen months. But at last his days of misfortune came to an end and brighter times appeared. Bapu Sindhia, a Mahratta officer of high rank and greatly esteemed, was convinced of Colonel Filose's innocence and fidelity. He offered to stand security for him in any way that might be required, and at last obtained his release on condition that the colonel's son, Julian Filose, should remain in the Durbar as a hostage for his father. This being arranged, the Maharaja conferred a khillat on John Baptiste Filose, restored him to the rank of colonel, and re-appointed him to the command of Malwa.

Colonel Filose having been appointed to his former command was ordered to proceed to his camp. He was

accompanied by his friend Bapu Sindhia, and the two found the army at Banswara. Shortly before this Pundit Juswunt Rao had met with the reward of his treachery. A dispute had broken out concerning the distribution of plunder, and Juswunt Rao, considering his life in danger, took shelter in a Hindu temple where he was mortally wounded by some gosains. The troops welcomed back their old commander with every sign of joy. Each man seemed to consider a personal advantage had fallen to himself.

For some time Colonel Filose was employed in checking the Bheels and in establishing order in the south and west of Malwa. But more serious work lay before him. Maharaja Doulut Rao ordered him to proceed against Sheopore and realize the tribute claimed by the Mahrattas. When the agents of the Sheopore Raj heard that "John Batteest's" force was approaching they agreed to pay Rs. 1,50,000, and the attack on Sheopore was countermanded. But when Filose's force was supposed to be engaged at Oodaipore the Sheopore authorities refused all payment and could not be brought to account for some time.

At this time there was a good deal of ill-feeling among Colonel Filose's troops. While he was under arrest discipline had been relaxed and the men had been allowed to do pretty much as they choose. They now felt the strict attendance to duty which he required irksome; they had already had hard work and still harder lay before them, and as usual their pay was in arrears. This led three regiments to desert their camp and to march off to the Maharaja to claim redress of their grievances. But for this mutiny the Maharaja at once broke up the three regiments and removed the men from his service.

While Colonel Filose was at Oodaipore, Raja Jugutsing of Jaipore, went to Jodhpore with the intention of marrying one of the princesses. The marriage fell through, and the Raja was desirous of returning to his own capital. But the Afghan, Meer Khan, was plundering Jaipore, and the Raja feared that if he attempted to return he would be made

prisoner on the way. He therefore offered to give Colonel Filose's troops a lac of rupees if they secured him a safe passage. To this they agreed, and the Raja reached Jaipore without molestation. But when Filose claimed the promised reward he received the insolent answer: "A bone is enough for a dog; why talk of a lac of rupees!" But Colonel Filose was not the man to submit to such treatment. He at once marched upon Dosa, the nearest of the Jaipore towns, made the Raja's chief officers prisoners, and seized all the money in the treasury, amounting Rs. 24,000. He then summoned the rest of his troops from Jodhpore, and being at the head of a strong force he took possession of Mauwa, Hindone, Mulharna-Doongur, Khushalgarh, and other places in the Jaipore State. Here he remained for upwards of two years, and collected not less than Rs. 42,00,000 of revenue. But the Rajputs made strenuous efforts to drive out the Mahrattas. Chandsing, of Duni, with an army of 30,000, was threatening Bapu Sindhia and Surje Rao Ghatgay at Todree, a place in Jaipore. The latter appealed to Colonel Filose for help, which was promptly given. An obstinate battle followed, but chiefly owing to the skill and courage of Filose, victory fell to the Mahrattas. About forty-two guns, with an immense quantity of muskets, swords, horses, cattle, &c., rewarded the victors. In this action Filose lost over 1,000 men, while the Rajputs lost 2,400. The dead of the Mahratta army were burned or buried with all honour, according as they were Hindoos or Musulmans. But the Jaipore army was so demoralized that they paid no attention to their dead, but left them to the jackals. The Raja of Jaipore now saw that resistance was hopeless. He agreed to pay the Mahrattas Rs. 18,00,000, and peace was concluded. Colonel Filose's forces were then withdrawn from the districts where he had ruled for nearly three years.

When Colonel Filose had thus broken the power of the Rajputs of Jaipore and replenished Sindhia's treasury, he found himself at leisure to settle accounts with the Raja of

Sheopore. It will be remembered that some three years before this the Raja had avoided a siege by agreeing to pay a lac and a half of rupees. But when he saw Filose engaged with the brave Rajputs he considered himself safe and paid nothing. He was now told that he must pay without delay, or a strong force would be sent into his territories. At first he returned evasive answers, but finding these would not be accepted he prepared to fight. The fort was covered by an army of 5,000 Bairagis, a partly religious, partly military order, like the Knights Templars of the Middle Ages. They were commanded by their own Mahouts or Grand Masters, and were by the ferocity and recklessness of their character the terror of Central India. Filose however fell upon them unexpectedly, and notwithstanding their desperate courage they were cut to pieces. Sheopore was now invested. The siege lasted for six months, and such was the strength of the fort that neither batteries nor the mines made any great impression on it. Filose lost over 1,000 men, but that only strengthened his resolution to carry the town. The brave garrison were now attacked by another enemy—hunger. They had nothing to eat but the leaves of trees and but a short supply of these. The Raja therefore offered to surrender on condition of receiving in perpetuity an estate sufficient to keep him in comfort. Colonel Filose agreed, and assigned to the Raja the district of Baroda, worth Rs. 40,000 a year. He then got possession of the fort, and made arrangements for the good government of the surrounding country. As he had instructions to reduce all the Rajput chiefs who, during the war with the English in 1803-4-5, had thrown off their allegiance to the Mahrattas, he next turned his attention to Subbulgurh. This place held out for three months, but like the far stronger Sheopore it too had to submit. At the same time all the minor strongholds of the Jalone chiefs were reduced, and in the north-western parts of his dominions Sindhia's power became more firmly fixed than ever it had been before.

But Colonel Filose was not allowed to rest. The Maharaja himself had been besieging the fort of Narwar for six months without success, and he now summoned Filose with his force to assist in the operations. The besieger being thus reinforced it was determined to assault the town. Colonel Filose's men, who had now had much experience of such dangerous work, succeeded in planting their ladders, scaled the walls, and after much hard fighting made themselves masters of the place. This important affair took place on the 15th of August, 1811. At daybreak the Maharaja himself entered and bestowed great praise and valuable khillats on Colonel Filose, who was then permitted to return to his own command at Subbulgurh.

After the affairs of Subbulgurh had been put into thorough order Colonel Filose was ordered to proceed to the east towards Isagurh and to reduce the refractory Bundela chiefs to obedience. The Raja "Khenchee" Doorjunsing at first offered to submit and to pay the tribute demanded by the Maharaja Sindhia. But no payments were made. Colonel Filose had therefore to return to Isagurh. The fort was taken by storm, and the Raja fled. His wife was left behind, and thus fell into the hands of the conquerors. She was treated with all honour, and safely escorted to Kota with all her personal property. Raja Doorjunsing himself saw he had made a mistake in attempting to resist the renowned John Baptiste, and now sued for peace. With the consent of his master Sindhia, Colonel Filose concluded a treaty and the Raja was allowed to return to Isagurh on condition of paying a fine of Rs. 35,000.

Shortly after the conclusion of this treaty Bukhtsing and Arjunsing, sons of the late Murlansing of Gurrah Kota, sought Colonel Filose's help to recover their ancestral estates, which had been seized by the chief of Bhosla. They offered to make over half the territory to Sindhia if they were secured in the other half. The capture of Gurrah Kota led to much fighting. But at

last, partly by courage, partly by stratagem, the forces of Bhosla were expelled from the fort, and fled, leaving their guns and war material a prize to the victors. The wife of Ramghola, commander of the Bhosla army, was among the prisoners taken on the field. The lady requested to be sent to Benaik Rao at Saugor, and she was escorted thither with all honour.

After Colonel Filose returned from Gurrah Kota to his head-quarters at Sheopore, the Khenchee chief, Raja Jaising, again began to plunder. A second expedition had therefore to be sent against Isagurh. The Raja's troops were drawn up in front of the fort, but after a slight resistance of two hours they fled. Colonel Filose followed them up so rapidly that the two forces passed through the gateway together. Finding their fort thus taken, Raja Jaising and his friends escaped through a gate on the opposite side, and fled to the jungle. Colonel Filose was thus left in possession of Isagurh, and began as usual to arrange for the peace and good government of the neighbourhood. Among other useful works, he built a masonry bridge over the river below the fort, and this bridge is still in good order.

Having despatched two of his regiments to reduce Muksoodungurh in Malwa, he himself set out for Bundelkhund. Taking the small fort of Bamore by the way, he arrived before Tal-Behut. From the height of the walls and the inaccessibility of the site, the stronghold seemed impregnable. Neither batteries nor mines produced any effect, and several assaults were repulsed with heavy loss. The ground all round the fort was strewn with dead bodies, and the tank on the east side of the town was quite reddened with the blood that ran into it. But Colonel Filose persevered, and the commandant, after a three months' siege, surrendered. In this operation he lost nine hundred men, including many officers. The Bundela loss exceeded seventeen hundred. Five hundred prisoners were taken, and these were treated with such

severity that few survived to enjoy their liberty. Several balls had passed through Colonel Filose's clothes, yet strange to say he escaped unwounded. If we bear in mind his great military talents, the extraordinary care with which he looked after everything connected with his force, and his resolution, not to say obstinacy, we shall not be surprised at his successes. But that he should have come unwounded from so many well-fought fields was wonderful indeed.

The next task that lay before him was to reduce Chunderee. This was a place of such strength that it had defied the imperial armies of the Moghuls, but owing to the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison Colonel Filose obtained possession with no great loss. The siege of Behut and Chunderee were operations of great importance and danger, and would of themselves establish the reputation of a military leader. The territories of Chunderee were now absorbed into those of Maharaja Sindhia, but the Raja of Chunderee received Khulgaon, Mar, and other villages in jagir to enable him to live comfortably.

His recent successes spread the fame of John Baptiste throughout Central India. The Maharaja frequently praised him in the highest terms, and he might now have retired and spent the rest of his days in ease. But he was still in his prime, and preferred active service, and the Maharaja was only too glad to employ so capable an officer. The detachment he had sent into Malwa took Muksoodungurh, while he himself reduced Aroan. These operations being completed, the Maharaja considered Bundelkhund quite settled, and ordered Colonel Filose to proceed to Kurowlee, on the north-west; but as soon as "Jan Batteest" was gone Bundela obedience ceased. Plundering bands harried the country in all directions, and the two sons of Murdasing, of Gurrah Kota, repudiated their agreement. As his presence was so urgently wanted in Bundelkhund, Filose came to terms with the Raja of Kurowlee, and, on receiving a lac of rupees, raised the siege. He then marched

straight for Gurrah Khota, and expelled Murdansing's sons. Agreeably to the original treaty, he placed half the territory under the officers of Maharaja Sindhia, and left the other half to the two princes. His army had been scattered all over the province in pursuit of robber bands. But this proved a mistake. The restless Bundelas found an opportunity to surprise a single regiment during the night, and to cut off two hundred men. Colonel Filose now resolved to concentrate his forces, but as the Bundela bands had also united, he found himself opposed by fully thirty thousand men. Nevertheless, he determined to fight. He attacked with his whole force of artillery, horse and foot, and, after a bloody engagement, scattered the enemy. The Bundelas had fought resolutely, and the loss was heavy. This victory had an important effect on all Bundelkhund and Arjansing. Doorjansing, Khunchee, Bale Rao Englia, and the Raja of Chunderee had all been looking out for an opportunity of throwing off the Mahratta yoke, but after Colonel Filose's victory they found it prudent to remain quiet and fulfil their agreements.

During the whole of this campaign of twenty-six months, by which such important territories had been brought under Maharaja Doulut Rao's sway, Colonel Filose's army had never had a settlement of accounts. The arrears of pay now due were immense, and the men were disheartened. Nevertheless, their attachment to their leader made them still follow him, and Filose was thus able to capture Shadora from the Pindara chief, Chitu. This concluded the Bundela campaign, and the whole army, including its distinguished commander, was very glad to return to head-quarters at Sheopore.

Colonel Filose now had what must have seemed to him a long rest of nearly two years. From the time he took command of Rewaree in 1797 he had never been out of harness, and during the four years preceding his return to Sheopore he had been constantly engaged with the

Rajputs and Bundelas, services of great difficulty and danger. In 1815 he paid a visit to Gwalior, and presented to the Maharaja the trophies of his several campaigns. He was received with all honour, and the Maharaja wished to raise him to the rank of general. The only foreign officers in the Mahratta service who had been raised to this rank were De Boigne and Perron. But Filose considered it prudent to decline the intended promotion, and though he was generally in command of an army of twelve or fifteen thousand men, he continued to use the title Colonel.

A great number of robber bands at this time harassed and plundered Central India. They bore the general name of Pindarees, but they were made up of the desperate characters of all the races of Northern India. The most prominent leaders were Namdar Khan and Chitu, and these were aided by Maharaja Jusuunt Rao Holkar, who was glad to see the territories of Sindhia and the English damaged by these hordes. They amounted to one hundred thousand horse and foot, and though generally broken up into many bands, they could combine with astonishing rapidity. In 1816 they began ravaging Malwa and all Sindhia's southern provinces as far west as the head of the Gulf of Cambay. Partly to defend his own subjects, and partly to meet the wishes of the English, Sindhia resolved to send Colonel Filose against them with a strong force of twelve or thirteen thousand good troops. Malwa was then suffering from the ravages of the Pindaree band under Moin-ad-Din. Colonel Filose fell upon this chief, and after a severe engagement routed his force. The defeated army was not pressed to extremities, but each man was allowed to retain enough to cover his expenses while returning to his own village. In this way Moin-ad-Din's band was scattered, and peace re-established in Malwa.

The Maharaja then determined to reduce the territories of the Nawab Vazier Khan of Bhopal, and he entrusted

the operations to Colonel Filose. Before they could be carried out the British Resident at Poona interfered on the Nawab's behalf, and he was allowed to retain all the districts he then possessed. As Colonel Filose had his force ready for the march on Bhopal, he turned it towards Peelee. This stronghold he took from the Bundela Thakur, Ajitsing, and made it over to Pundit Appasahib, to whom it properly belonged. He then returned to his quarters at Isagurh.

Though the chiefs of Bundelkhund had one after another been compelled to own the Mahratta supremacy their plundering propensities could not be restrained. The most daring and active was Raja Jaising Khenchee. He kept the whole country in terror, levied contributions and prevented the Maharaja's agents from collecting the revenue. Orders were therefore issued to Colonel Filose to seize the Raja's three forts of Raghogurh, Bujrunggurh, and Chanchora. Accordingly he put his army in motion, and reaching Bujrunggurh during the *Holee*, when most of the garrison were drunk and off their guard, he made a sudden attack one night, and was master of the fort before morning. Raghogurh could be taken only by a regular siege. Trenches were therefore opened in front of it and heavy guns got into position. But the fort was strong, and from being on the top of a hill it was almost inaccessible. When the siege had continued for over two months the Raja turned the tables on John Baptiste. Leaving part of his force as garrison, he with his bravest chiefs and several hundred horse and foot stole quietly out of the fort and began to attack the besiegers in their rear. Supplies were cut off, and resolute night attacks on the trenches were frequently made. Filose's force was reduced to great straits, but their general's great rule of war was perseverance. The Khenchee chief then changed his plans. In place of hovering about Raghogurh he made a sudden dash upon Sheopore or Shopore, captured Julian Filose, and took the town from the colonel's wife, generally

spoken of as Margaret Filose, who was ruling during her husband's absence. Having established himself in Sheopore, Jaising plundered the country all round, while he did not cease to harass the army besieging Raghogurh. The Maharaja thereupon sent a force with guns from Jhansi against Jaising, who was speedily driven out of Sheopore.

The close and persevering investment of Raghogurh now began to tell upon the garrison. Food and ammunition were both exhausted, and one night they suddenly abandoned the fort and cut their way through the besiegers' lines. Filose then gained the reward of his long and arduous labours.

The third fort, Chanchora, was comparatively weak, and it was soon taken. Colonel Filose was then free to hunt the active Khenchee. This was no easy task, for Jaising was a man of great intelligence and daring. On one occasion he outwitted Filose, and falling upon him when slightly attended he almost cut him off. But after several months' hunting, Jaising's bands were dispersed, and he himself compelled to flee the country. For several months his whereabouts was unknown. At last Sindhia's officers were relieved on hearing that he had been accidentally drowned in crossing the Chambal. Thus perished the brave Raja Jaising Khenchee, the most energetic and resourceful of all the opponents with whom Colonel Filose had to contend.

Towards the end of 1816 difficulties arose between Maharaja Sindhia and the English. The latter seemed likely to march on Gwalior, and Colonel Filose was ordered to bring up his army as the best part of the Maharaja's forces. He was eager to serve his master, but he now found himself helpless. His army had received no regular pay for forty months, and they refused to march until a settlement was made. All ranks, officers and men, joined in the mutiny, nor can we blame them for so doing. The consequence was that Colonel Filose had great

difficulty in bringing a small party to the cantonment of Gwalior; his once famous army being unmanageable. This raised the Maharaja's anger to the highest pitch. The colonel was deprived of his command, and new officers sent out to lead the army to Gwalior. But as these officers could not settle the arrears of pay the men would not listen to their orders. Then the new officers began mutual recrimination, and the force went from bad to worse, until it was good for nothing.

Meantime Colonel Filose was in open arrest, receiving a subsistence allowance of Rs. 500 a month. He was accused of collusion with the English, though the charge was evidently absurd. He was not an Englishman, he received a liberal salary from the Maharaja, and he could expect little or nothing from the English. He challenged his accusers to produce evidence of his treachery, but their only reply was that treachery was proved by his not bringing his army to Gwalior. As has been already mentioned the army would have fought as bravely as ever they had done had their accounts been settled.

This arrest, which lasted for seven years, brought on Colonel Filose the loss of nearly all he possessed; as soon as the mutiny at Sheopore and the colonel's removal from command became known, the Afghan robber chief, Moinad-Din, seized Isagurh, Sheopore, and Subbulgurh. While plundering the country generally he took special care to carry off all the personal property of Filose, and this was worth not less than a lac of rupees.

During these weary years his only occupation and amusement was reading, and as he was no longer young he began to lose hope of ever being employed again, but his friends were active on his behalf, and his innocence was now evident to all. Bapoo Vablay, an influential chief, again and again pressed on the Maharaja's attention the advantage of employing such an able and upright officer in some capacity suitable to his previous rank and experience. Julian Filose had also been unceasing in his efforts to secure

his father's release, and at last the Maharaja ordered him to be set free. But at the same time he sent him a letter through Munshi Bulwunt Rao Bahadoor, and his friend Bapoo Vablay, informing him that he would listen to no claims for arrears of pay due either to him or his army. Nor would any compensation be paid for the money and household goods of which he had been deprived. On the 24th of December, 1824, the Maharaja invited Colonel Filose to the palace, conferred on him a splendid khillat, restored him to his former rank, and ordered him to receive his salary of Rs. 2,000 a month. The whole city was filled with joy on this occasion, and the colonel received congratulations from all sides.

Though thus restored to his rank and pay he was not appointed to any definite command. But his high military qualities were known all over India, and he received offers of employment elsewhere. Runjeet Sing had made himself master of the Punjab, and was forming a regular army under Ventura, Avitabile, and other European officers, and he informed "John Batteest" that he would be happy to employ him on advantageous terms. But while heartily thanking the Lion of the Punjab, he declined his offer. He said that his family had now served the Gwalior Government for two generations, that he had enough for all his wants, and that he sought no other service.

Maharaja Doulut Rao died in 1825, and Beja Bai, his Rani, came into power. She was less favourable to Colonel Filose than her predecessor had been, and showed no disposition to re-employ him. But in 1829, affairs in Bundelkhund had got into such confusion that the Gwalior Durbar considered Filose the only man fit to manage that province. The Bundelas were in rebellion, they had taken the forts of Tal-Behut and Chunderee, and were plundering the adjoining territories; but they well remembered the justice and vigour of "Jan Buteest" and as soon as he returned they submitted. Half the lands of Chunderee were made over to Mur Pehladi, the old Raja, and so well

pleased was he with the arrangements that he presented to Filose in perpetuity the village of Masora, yielding Rs. 8,000 a year, as a mark of his friendship. This village was given by Filose to the convent at Agra, and that institution still enjoys the revenue.

While Filose was ruling Bundelkhund and carrying on a considerable trade at Chunderee, a serious disturbance broke out among the Maharajah's troops at Gwalior. The colonel was summoned to the capital to restore order. After a year he again visited Bundelkhund, but his stay was not lengthy. Though responsible for Bundelkhund, he generally resided at Gwalior from 1832 till his death, in 1846.

After the death of Maharaja Doulut Rao, Jhunkujee Rao Sindhia had come up from the Deccan to take possession of the throne jointly with Beja Bai. This roused the jealousy and anger of the latter, and ill-feeling sprang up on both sides. Though Beja Bai had never been very friendly to Colonel Filose, she knew the value of his services, and one day disclosed to him all her plans, in the hope of thus securing his support in the coming struggles. The colonel urged her to lay aside her hostile plans, as any attempt to carry them out would prove ruinous to herself. But Beja Bai's self-conceit prevented her from listening to reason, and Filose felt bound to reveal her plans to the Maharaja Jhunkujee Rao Sindhia. This greatly annoyed Beja Bai, and she contrived to have the colonel removed from the management of Chunderee. She then began to lay plots for making Jhunkujee Rao Sindhia prisoner, and taking the government entirely into her own hands. This intention became known to the officers of the two regiments, Brum and Bhadur, who formed Jhunkujee Rao's escort, and one night they took him out to the Phool Bagh, where they proclaimed him sole Maharaja of Gwalior. Beja Bai now called on Colonel Filose for assistance, but the colonel returned an evasive answer. Shortly after he and all the officers under his command waited on

Jhunkujee Rao Sindhia at the Phool Bagh, and presented their nuzzurs, thus recognizing him as Maharaja, and tendering him their services.

The Maharaja took up his quarters in Bara Khas, but he was not long allowed to remain there. The Brum and Bhadur regiments considered that they alone had made him king, and their demands for reward were exorbitant and insolent. Moreover, they were joined by the Artillery at Jhansi, and a widespread mutiny was imminent. The Maharaja fled from the Bara Khas, and ordered Filose to crush the disaffected troops. He had then but a small force under his command, as most of his men were in Bundelkhund. However, he fell upon the mutineers at once, dispersed them, and killed forty-five in the struggle. In this affair he had one of his wonderful escapes. A ball struck him on the leg, penetrating his leather gaiters, and passing downward, lodged between his heel and the boot without breaking any bones.

Colonel Filose was now in high favour at Court. He was made commandant of the Artillery at Jhansi, and restored to his former government of Chunderee.

Shortly after this fresh disturbances broke out in Bundelkhund. Murdansing, son of Raja Pelhad, and Kowar Umraosing took to plundering in the neighbourhood of Chunderee. Colonel Filose did not go to Bundelkhund in person, but sent his son Julian, who soon restored order. Murdansing submitted, and was pardoned, and his fort, Luchmungud, taken from him.

Julian Filose left four sons, Anthony, Peter, Florence, and Michael, who, at the time of their father's death, had all obtained the rank of captain in Maharaja Sindhia's service. Maharaja Sindhia advanced Anthony Filose to the rank of major, and appointed him to his father's command in Bundelkhund. At the same time the Maharaja conferred a pension of 1,500 rupees a month on Major Julian Filose's widow.

It was largely due to Colonel Filose's efforts that

Sindhia's army gained its high reputation. His father, Colonel Michael Filose, had been a most efficient officer. Captain Francklin, in his "Life of George Thomas," writing in 1800, five years after Colonel Michael Filose resigned the Mahratta service, says: "The remains of Colonel Filose's brigade consist of six battalions of five hundred men each and sixty guns." Afterwards he says: "M. Perron's infantry, which had been trained by De Boigne, are in appearance the best troops belonging to Sindhia. They are under better subordination to their officers, and are more regularly paid, better armed, clothed, and disciplined. The troops of the late Colonel Filose are equal to those of M. Perron" (page 362). This efficiency Colonel John Baptiste Filose more than maintained. He was incessant in drilling his men, and providing them with the best guns and ammunition. He took great pride in his profession. When twitted with having been three times under arrest, he replied, "Yes, indeed! I have suffered arrest, but never defeat." Some one having made the remark that "Jan Bateest" was a man of no great stature, "No!" was his reply, "but my hand can always reach the top of an enemy's fort." One day some men came to him wishing to enlist. The colonel did not like their appearance, and said they would not suit him. They protested that they would always be ready to die, but never would flee. "That just shows you will not suit me," said the Colonel; "I do not want my men to die, but to kill the enemy." While a faithful, he was not a blind servant of the Maharaja, and never forgot that he owed much to the people, as well as to the ruler, hence his popularity in all the districts he governed and his influence over the restless and warlike Bundelas.

In 1843, Maharaja Jhunkujee Rao died, and Jaiajee Rao Sindhia ascended the throne; but on account of his youth, much power remained in the hands of Tara Bai, widow of the late Maharaja, and she made Pundit Dada Khasgiwala Prime Minister. The Pundit's conduct was so reckless

that, after a short time, the British Resident withdrew from Gwalior. Colonel Filose also suffered at the hands of this headstrong and injudicious minister, for he was deprived of his command on the old charge of collusion with the English. All sorts of absurd innovations were made, and the Pundit declared he would restore Mahratta rule to its original condition. Seeing the confusion already created, and knowing that worse must speedily follow, Lord Ellenborough sent an army from Agra across the Chambal. This force had reached Chanda, about ten kos from Gwalior, when Tara Bai and the Pundit sent out the troops to stop the English advance. Colonel Filose, who had been removed from his office by the Pundit, was now summoned to Court by Tara Bai, and ordered to take command of the army at Chanda. He did so, but very unwillingly. He was now an old man, and in bad health, and he knew that a struggle with the English could end only in one way. However, he considered it his duty to carry out the orders of the Government he had so long served as far as possible, and he proceeded to Chanda as commander-in-chief. But the Mahratta force was unmanageable. Confusion had spread from civil affairs into the army. Each leader fought when and how it pleased himself, and of course the English won an easy victory. Colonel Filose, finding things hopeless, returned to Gwalior, and the English made such arrangements as they considered proper for the good government of Sindhia's dominions. Chunderee and other places in Bundelkhund were placed under British management, in payment of the contingent now stationed at Gwalior, and Colonel Filose was transferred to Subbulgurh and Beejapore.

Colonel Filose now began to make arrangements for the changes that he knew Providence must soon send upon him. Accordingly he sent for his favourite grandson, Peter, who was then commanding at Subbulgurh, adopted him as his son, and after most touching advice, committed to him the management of all his private concerns.

A last will and testament was then drawn up. Having thus arranged his private affairs, he begged his master, the Maharaja, to do him the honour of visiting him in his own house. The request was granted. The colonel then pointed out that he was no longer able to serve his Highness, and taking Peter's hand, he placed it between the hands of the Maharaja, in token that he would serve him with the same fidelity as he himself had always shown. At the same time he begged that his offices and honours, with the rank of colonel, might, according to Mahratta custom, be transferred to his adopted son. His Highness was pleased to accede to this request, and a commission was drawn up in the name of Itamad-ul-dola, Colonel Peter Filose, Bahadur, Buque-i-Jung. After this his Highness returned to his palace, attended by Colonel Peter Filose, while John Baptiste Filose remained quietly in his house, thus showing that he had no longer any official duties to perform. At the palace Colonel Peter Filose received a *khillat*, and his commission was written out with unusual elegance. Thus was Colonel John Baptiste Filose relieved of all his cares, and thus were both his private affairs and public offices transferred to his grandson. At last, on the evening of May 2, 1846, Colonel John Baptiste Filose presented his nuzzur before the Great Sovereign of the universe. His body was buried within the church, and Colonel Peter Filose had a splendid marble monument, with an inscription in gold letters, erected over his last resting-place.

His death caused indescribable grief in Gwalior, where there were thousands who owed so much to his liberality. It is now forty years since he passed away, but the memory of his courage and liberality is still fresh, and he is always recognized as the most distinguished member of a distinguished family. Nor in the history of the Mahratta kingdom of Gwalior can his name ever be forgotten. The forts of Isagurh, Mulhargud, Bujrunggurh, Muksoodungurh, Chunderee, Tal-Behur, Aroan, Nurwur, Sheopore, Subbul-

gurb, and others which he added to the territories of his master, will be for ever the monuments of his services. Immense were the sums he sent into the Maharaja's treasury, and the honours and rewards that Sindhia has conferred on his descendants are not extravagant when compared with what John Baptiste Filose did for the kingdom of Gwalior.

P.S.—The only grandsons of John Baptiste now surviving are Michael and Florence; the elder brother, Peter, having died in 1880, after many years' faithful service to Maharaja Sindhia. Sir Michael Filose was much trusted by the late Maharaja, and shortly before the Prince of Wales's visit to India was entrusted with the construction of the Jai Bilās palace, where His Royal Highness was entertained. This enormous building of solid stone, containing one of the finest rooms in India, the Hall of Audience, was designed and built by Sir Michael Filose in a very short time and at a reasonable outlay. Subsequently he was appointed Governor of the lower Gwalior Districts of Malwa, which appointment he has held for the last five years, and has won the confidence of the people by his consideration and uprightness. In the midst of much temptation and corruption Sir Michael Filose has contrived to maintain a high reputation for integrity. The progress of Malwa under the regency, and with Sir Michael's intelligent regard for the interest of the people, will be rapid. His elder brother, Florence, was for some time a judge in the court of appeal at Gwalior, but on the Regency was relieved of these duties, and now merely retains his honorary rank of Major and Aide-de-Camp to the young Maharaja.

EDITOR.

THE RUBY MINES OF BURMA.

THE ruby region of Burma consists of a series of small valleys nestling on the southern slope of a range of mountains called the Shwey-Doung, or Golden Mounts; itself an arm running east and west from the great central chain of Burma. The mines are all contained in a crescent or quarter-moon-shaped area some fourteen miles long by six wide, made up of minor ridges and indentations down which the water-courses trickle irregularly like the veining of a leaf. A few miles off to the south they all unite in a stream which joins the Irawadi River just above Mandalay.

Roads following the course of this stream form one means of approach to the mines, and caravans and British troops have travelled this way; but the gradual rise, from 200 to 300 feet above sea-level at Mandalay to the 4,000 to 5,000 feet elevation of the valley-beds at the mines, is much broken by spurs of hills and rugged ground; and the conquest of the place was made from the west and north over the passes 6,000 and 7,000 feet high across the crests of the hills, whose peaks rise to nearly 8,000 feet. Our troops, under General Stewart, consisting of the Yorkshire Regiment, the 42nd Ghorkhas, Artillery, and Bengal Sappers, had a trying and tedious preparation in making roads and forwarding provisions before making the final ascent in the last few days of 1886. Skirmishes in the plains near the river showed a determination to strong resistance by levies of Shans and hill-men who usually display good fighting power when they are near cover; but the severe handling they received in the early encounters, when misplaced confidence led them into more open ground, made them abandon exceptionally strong stockades, in well-chosen

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positions near the summits of the passes, on the roads towards Mogok and Kyatpyen. Natural gates, formed by huge black monolithic limestones, were closed by tier upon tier of felled trees, and faced with spikes on the former; while, on the latter, a carefully excavated trench, fronted with an earthen breastwork covered with tree trunks and spiked bamboos, entirely commanded the V-shaped ravine along which the steep road ascended. In both cases a threatened turning of the flanks took the heart out of the defenders, and a bold front rush, with but little fighting, made the mercenary heroes suddenly remember that they had not been paid up to date, and they rapidly disappeared to plunder Mogok and the principal villages they had been hired to defend. It turned out that almost none of the real population of the mines had been engaged in opposing the progress of the troops; and that the traders from the plains and the men who had most benefited by illicit traffic in rubies had combined and brought up some hundreds of Shans and Kakoos—half Shans and half Burmese—who are the best fighting-men in Upper Burma, to try and keep us from the mines.

The road of approach had been from the riverside village of Kyanyat through a forest-covered plain some forty miles before reaching the hills. Most of the plain is deeply submerged by the floods of the Irawadi in the rains, and at their close exhales a fever-laden atmosphere which, mingled with miasma from poisonous trees, exacts a heavy toll from travellers. Very few escaped the fever; and, although it is by no means deadly, it should if possible be avoided by a hurried journey through the lower lands. Immediately before entering the Mogok Valley from the north, a series of rolling plains was found at an elevation of about 6,000 feet; and on these have since been founded the only sanatorium of Burma, called Bernard-Myo, after the first Chief Commissioner of Upper Burma. The continued occupation of Bernard-Myo has proved it to be the only military station in Burma free from either cholera or

fever during the year 1888. The climate is very pleasant in the hot weather; and during the cold season hoar frost lies on the ground till 10 a.m. I found ice covering my bucket on New Year's night of 1887. All kinds of vegetables thrive there, including potatoes; and probably most of the best-known European fruits can be grown in the open. The rain-fall is moderate.

The plains have few trees upon them; but the mountain slopes are thickly covered, and the forests appear to grow more dense on ascending the steep sides towards the top of the pass. The foliage is dark green, approaching to black; and the weathered peaks themselves are blackened by exposure or by a clinging lichen hiding the white limestone and marble beneath it. Oaks, chestnuts, and firs prevail; but many trees peculiar to the country are found. Numberless orchids of great beauty, probably some new to collectors, cover the trees. On the Shan Plateau a new rose has lately been discovered. The road from Bernard-Myo winds through forests of this kind to the crest, and down the steeper slope beyond for some distance before a glimpse of the valleys below can be obtained. Then suddenly varied scenes of wild loveliness are opened out. In the far distance rise the peaks and rolling grounds of the great Shan Plateau, somewhat dim and indistinct. Nearer, and not far below, lie masses of rolling hills, broken and fissured with valleys which the sight cannot fathom, while immediately beneath are the narrow cultivated plains following the sinuous Yay-Boo and Yay-Nee streams; dotted with villages surrounded by low hills, mostly crested with carved shrines and gilded pagodas.

At the first entry of the troops to these valleys every village and every house was deserted. The flat lands were yellow and looked burnt-up where the straw from the cut rice plants had been set fire to. The streams ran low, and the numerous abandoned mines, each with its hummock of cast-out earth, together with the absence of population, gave a deserted and desolate

appearance to the whole. Seen towards nightfall, as the sun's warmth and light lessened and disappeared, and the shadows thickened and blackened in the recesses of the valleys, a weird and ghastly effect was produced. After the warm night air of the Burmese plains, a sharp clear chilly feeling is observable in these high valleys when the sun sets. Probably this is the time when the fever-stroke is given to new-comers.

The well-earned reputation for discipline and fair dealing which our troops had acquired, soon inspired confidence, and the residents gradually returned to their homes. Within a week only those who had made themselves very conspicuous by opposition to the advance remained away. The whole region became instinct with life, and even inanimate nature took a brighter aspect. It is impossible from any point to take in at a glance more than half the ruby regions ; but the two points I should recommend would be the top of the peak of Pin-goo Toung, near Kyatpyen, and the hill above Mogok, occupied originally by the camp. The panorama of the intermediate valleys can be filled in on a walk from one to the other. The clear grey air of the early dawn gives place at sunrise to a mist which rises in the dry weather and obscures all the flatter valleys, creeping up sometimes to the summits of the lower hills ; but by breakfast is over the sun's power penetrates and dissolves the dew. While its softening influence is still in the air, the peculiar features and colouring of the valleys is seen to best advantage. The highest peak, called Toung-Meh, or Dark Mount, from its blackness, is the most conspicuous feature from all parts. It rises 7,800 feet high, right in the centre of the boundary range. Gradually lowering on both sides, the higher crests imitate the blackness ; but the colours soften down through shades of lighter green until the grassy slopes of the lower hills are reached. The forest trees have been removed from them by the people for firewood ; and only stunted shrubs and coarse grass of bright green remain. The high steep hills are composed of limestone, gneiss and

granite. The lower rolling hilly ground which pushes with a continually more easy slope into the lower valleys is the result of the destructive action of the weather upon the rocks above, and consists wholly of their *débris* in various stages of disintegration. Often it clothes its parent rock nearly to the summit; but enormous scars, the results of landslips after heavy rainfall, score its flanks in many places, and give variegated colours of red and yellow and white to the background. It is usually deeply cut up into numerous rugged ravines, which do not show in the bright sunshine till you are close upon them. This rolling land occupies by far the greater extent of the valleys; and leaves but a small extent of plain land in the beds near the streams for cultivation. In the Mogok Valley, perhaps two miles long by an average of over half a mile wide, is the extent of the valley plain; and I doubt if altogether more than five or six square miles of such land exists in all the valleys.

It is under this land, and generally near the streams, that the most worked of the ruby-bearing beds have been found. The flat plains lie at different elevations above the sea in the different valleys. Near Mogok they range from 4,000 to 4,500 feet high. Near Kyatpyen and Kathey they run to 5,000 feet high. It is very curious to find that, whatever the absolute height of the surface, there is found beneath it, at depths usually of from 10 to 30 feet, a layer of ruby-bearing earth from 1 foot to 5 feet thick. The upper layer varies much in character, but generally is of a loose loamy structure, made up of clay, gravel, and sand. The ruby-earth has little clay in it as a rule, and mostly consists of gravel and sand. When first turned out in the air the wet mass glistens in the sun with myriads of small rubies. It is carefully washed in wooden or bamboo platters about 12 inches in diameter; and the larger stones are selected. Temporary pits are sunk to extract the ruby earth. In the stronger upper layers small holes without any supports are dug; but when the ground is soft and water-laden, square pits measuring 6 feet and upwards on each side are exca-

vated. Strong corner posts are driven, and light cross-bracing and side timbering put in till the ruby-earth is reached. The great difficulty is the presence of water. The appliances for working are of a primitive kind, but are very efficient for the simple work required. A forked post is driven into the ground at a short distance from the pit. In the fork is balanced a long lever with a short arm, weighted with stones, while the longer arm overhangs the pit, and carries a rod long enough to reach to the bottom. To this is attached a basket or a bucket, which, when filled, is lifted up by the balance-weight at the short end of the lever. The man at the top only hauls down the empty basket to the workers below who fill it. Often six or more of these levers are employed at a single pit, and they serve both in lieu of pumps and of winches. These constitute the most elaborate machinery hitherto used at the mines; and, although for the limited scale of work they are employed at, they are the best and most economical methods in which human labour could be utilized, they do not permit any extensive workings to be carried on. Each pit is completed and all the material extracted in one or two weeks, when all the wood is removed and the workings are allowed to fall in.

* A second method of mining is carried on in the irregular soft lower hills lying between the plains and the higher ranges. These, as has been explained, are the decomposed *debris* of the harder rocks above them, and they contain rubies sparsely distributed through their mass. A very few unimportant workings have been carried on in these clayey grounds. They correspond, on a feeble scale, to the hydraulic washings in California. A small stream is tapped and conveyed in an open channel and aqueducts to the site of the working, which gradually assumes a funnel-like shape as the miners, with a longish narrow spade, like a gardener's spud, cut off thin slices of the clayey earth and throw it into the water which runs along the bottom of the work, sometimes in a wooden trough. Here the clay is dissolved

and carried off, while the sand and gravel is carefully examined and anything of value set apart. In the larger workings the water is sometimes turned on to heaps of the collected stuff which, when softened, is passed through screens and riddles. But the whole of these workings are of an insignificant character compared with the results which may be obtained by a single hydraulic jet, under the pressure of a few hundred feet.

A third, and, in some respects, the most important of all the methods of mining, occurs in the harder rocks themselves. Both the limestone and the gneissic rocks are traversed by irregular fissures due to shrinkage and to dislocations, particularly at the junction of the two kinds of rock. These fissures have been filled up during long past ages with the washings of the disintegrated rocks above them. The native miners have explored many of these fissures, and, considering the limited means at their command, have obtained good results from them. Of actual mining in the shape of tunnels and drifts, properly secured by timbering, there has been none; and the men employed appear to have simply followed the walls of the fissures as far as possible, until stopped by choke-damp and the falling in of loose masses of rock. On several occasions serious accidents have occurred in this and in the last-named class of mines.

Some feeble attempts have also been made at quarrying in the dry limestone, and at extracting the gravelly washings in the river beds. As indications of rich sources of supply for the future these are most valuable, but up to the present the results attained are of no importance. In estimating the value of the mines the actual condition of the present and past modes of working, as noted above, must be considered. And when it is borne in mind that for hundreds of years the sole supply of valuable rubies for the world's consumption has been drawn from this source, with these imperfect and limited means of working, some notion may be formed of what may be done by applying the latest and

best methods which modern engineering science can command in developing the mines. The lessees under the late native Government paid, nominally, £20,000 yearly for the privilege of mining, and had to give up all the larger stones found to the king. Probably a great deal of bribery supplemented the actual payments, and extortion and smuggling were freely resorted to to furnish the supplies. It is known that the English firm of Gillanders, Arbuthnot and Co., of Rangoon, exported annually about £80,000 worth of rubies; and very much larger quantities passed by native dealers to Calcutta, besides the portion required for local consumption in Mandalay and Burma generally. Probably also some found their way to Siam and to China. While there is much uncertainty about the true figures for these quantities, there can be none about them having been fairly large.

The new Company has acquired the monopoly of dealing in the productions of these mines for seven years; and the right of mining throughout the area. The rights of all the native population of the mines will be carefully respected. The terms on which this concession has been granted are:—The payment of 400,000 rupees yearly (say £30,000), and one-sixth of the net profits on the workings to Government, who undertake to afford every opportunity to work the mines in a legitimate manner. A brief *résumé* of the conditions likely to be met with may be of interest.

First of all, the people in the ruby-mine districts are of the very highest interest. Little was known of them or of the mining regions until our troops went up; as the policy of the native rulers was to exclude all interference, so that exaggerated notions of the difficulties of approach and of the fevers and dacoits on the roads were disseminated.

As a matter of fact no European ever got to the mines, except two or three by special permission of the king, within the last few centuries. It was known to the authorities that the true resident population had taken no part in

the fighting with our troops, and they were permitted to return to their homes as soon as they chose to come in; even the leaders and hirers of the opposing party were treated with conciliation, their past enmity being overlooked on promise of future friendship. It was curious to notice the number and the comparative isolation of the different communities which make up the population of the mining country. Probably the total permanent residents, men, women, and children, did not number more than from 5,000 to 6,000; and a floating population might at times bring the total up to nearly 10,000 in all.

Mogok itself, the largest village or town, contains with its bazaar, its east and south suburban villages, probably one-half the total population. It is well laid out in streets, at the foot of a low hill, and surrounded by a strong stockade. Pagodas, monasteries, rest-houses, and shrines crown every eminence around, adding to the picturesqueness of the scene, and testifying to the wealth and to the liberality of the people. The houses are all of wood, built on posts in Burmese fashion, with the floors a few feet from the ground; each in its own garden or compound. An air of comfort and solidity prevails. The people here are not Burmese: but Shans Burmanized in manners and customs, although they dress in the blue jackets and trousers of the Shans. In the bazaar, or southern part of the town, which is devoted to traffic and the reception of strangers, a motley collection of people may be seen, especially on every fifth day, when the regular market is held. Leesaws from the remoter hills bring in firewood, vegetables, fowls, and a few simple productions. They are a wild, underfed race, who have been driven from the lower lands in China and the Shan States, and who seem to live on sufferance, independent, but serviceable to their neighbours. They do not live within the mining regions, and are not likely to be of any importance either as enemies or as friends, for they do not work at the mines or on the roads. The pure Chinese put in their appearance. A number of them live in A-Shey-

Yua, or eastern village, on the opposite side of the river from Mogok. There they cultivate pigs, smoke opium, gamble, and, I daresay, do some illicit trading in rubies. They are quiet, generally well-behaved, and inoffensive; opening their pork-shops on market-day, and always ready for a deal. They do not seem to be permanent residents in the country, and probably keep up their numbers by migration. They have no mining rights. The Mahomedan Chinese, or Pantheys, are a very different class. They are merchant traders and great travellers. They are remnants of the body which conquered and held Yunnan from 1850 to 1873. In 1868 our Government sent a diplomatic expedition to their Court at Talifoo under Sir Edward Sladen, to which I was attached as engineer. The state of war prevented the expedition going beyond Momien, where it was kindly received by Ta-See-Kon, the general there. Later on the Pekin Government collected its resources, and entirely crushed the Pantheys, dispersing those left alive through the border countries between China, Tonquin, Siam, and Burma. They have since become the great trading medium between the ports of Burma and the interior. Further east they form independent bodies of freebooters; and it was they who, under the name of Black Flags, gave the French so much trouble in Tonquin. They are a fine, well-built, well-mannered race, with undeniable courage and energy, and may form a factor of some importance in our future dealings with these countries. They do most of the genuine trading at Mogok, and do not get the credit of the bulk of the smuggling, though possibly they may share in it. Following these, and equally or more important of the non-resident races, are the Chinese Shans, or, as the Burmese call them, Maingthas. *Maing* is Burmese for the Shan word *Muang*—a state; *tha* is Burmese for son; so that Maingtha simply means a man from the Chinese Shan States, of which there are twelve lying between Burma and China. They are semi-independent, enjoying home-rule under the Chinese Government,

and they have adopted the pig-tail and Chinese customs and modes of life and religion, and are loyally devoted to the empire. I passed through four of these States in 1868 with Captain Sladen, and was for a time a guest with one of their Sawbwars, or chiefs. They are a fine, stalwart, independent race of people; the women sometimes handsome, the men stronger and broader built than the Chinese, but, as a rule, not so tall as the Pantheys. They manage their own affairs without control by the Chinese, and hold their own, under considerable pressure, from the wild mountain tribes of Kachyens. Every year, early in December, large bodies of these men come to the mines for work. Over two thousand of them came to work on the roads and at the mines in 1887-88; but this last December the usual supply did not turn up, owing, it is reported, to disturbances near their homes. On this supply of labour much of the success of the working of the mines depends. They work thoroughly well, and require high pay. It is absolutely essential that the new cart-road from the Irawadi to the mines be opened out without delay, and these men alone can do it. Thirty-four miles of this road were completed in May, 1888, but cholera breaking out there the work-people fled. Some twenty to thirty miles more of road are required, and that over the steepest parts of the pass. Should that not be done during the present year, very serious loss will be incurred by the mining lessees, as the heavy portions of the machinery required cannot be got to the mines; and without this there will be a large outlay continuously incurred with but small results. It is to be hoped that the Government will see that their interest is identical with that of the lessees, and encourage the Maingthas to get this necessary road carried right through. The Maingthas do not live in the mining regions, and have no fixed rights there.

Burmese is spoken all over the mining region, but the pure Burmese are very few amongst the permanent residents. Some live at Kyatpyen. They were the last to

return to their homes after the occupation. I met them on their way back. They conversed freely with the humorous nonchalance of their race covering some doubts as to their ultimate reception. They finally settled down and resumed work. They keep themselves absolutely separate from the other races. In the Mogok Bazaar some Burmese traders appear with goods from Mandalay. It is they and some Burmanized Shan traders who get the credit of doing the illicit smuggling of rubies. A man will show his books in perfect order, proving that he only makes £1 or £2 a month profit, and be known to spend ten times the amount. The method of dealing with these people, who are non-resident, and have no fixed rights in the mining interests, forms a very serious matter for consideration. All the more valuable rubies and large quantities of common ones have been conveyed by these people from the mines to Mandalay, and thence exported during the past two years. A record has been kept for some time of the values of the rubies going through the post, and this has been found to exceed largely the total recorded production of the mines. Three chetties, or native Madras bankers, have especially distinguished themselves by the amount of their exports, and are probably having an unhappy time of it just now before the law-courts in consequence. It is the Government alone which can adequately deal with this evil, and every desire has been shown to loyally work with the lessees in preventing it in future.

Besides the Burmanized Shans of Mogok, who are the principal mine-owners and workers in the valleys, there are hamlets and villages of Katheys and Paloungs. The former are descendants of prisoners from the Hindoo State of Munipoor, who were settled here centuries ago. They have lost both their language and religion, and practically have become Burmans. But to those accustomed to deal with the Burmese, the distinction is at once apparent. They are wanting in the *bonhomie*, the cordial, generous manner characterizing the Burman. They are, however,

industrious and sturdy workers. They live mostly at and near the village of Kathey. The Paloungs are a people totally distinct from the others around them. Their tribe occupies the tea-mountain regions, or State of Toungbaing, now become tributary to Britain, and lying to the north-west of the ruby mines. They are a kindly, simple people, hard-working, and possessing in the fissure-mines of Pingoo-Toung and Baumadan very valuable properties, if properly worked.

In dealing with the actual mines and mine-owners, every consideration must be shown them. They have hitherto been mercilessly exploited by the lessees of the old Burmese Government, and by the illicit traders from the plains. If fairly and honourably dealt with, there is every chance of securing the whole of the produce of their mines at fair rates—outbidding the illegal traders: and by working with them and for them, supplying their wants at moderate prices, and helping them to develop their workings, much can be done to acquire their confidence, and drive out fraudulent competitors.

At present there is every prospect of such success as will justify any reasonable expectations on the part of holders of the shares so eagerly applied for. A certain amount of patience and equanimity will doubtless be required before actual results will prove this. Fever, dacoits, illicit smuggling, delay in opening the roads, disturbances, stopping the supply of local labour, are all items which may possibly interfere with the proper working of the mines; but all these are known, and, with forethought and careful working and loyal co-operation on the part of the Government, are sure to be quickly overcome.

Preparations are being made for working the various kinds of mines with the latest and best devised machinery under the control of thoroughly efficient engineers and miners on the spot. Already engines, boilers, and gem-washing machinery with pumps are being carried to the mines: and, shortly, these will be supplemented by an

abundant supply of still more extensive and elaborate appliances which will enable more work to be done in five years than has hitherto been done in as many centuries. The latest information confirms the statement that the opening up of the cart-road from the river to the mines will be pressed on by the Government, and the civil authority is represented by Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, who will use every endeavour to stop the smuggling which has been rampant for the last two years. The time that has passed since the first approach to the mines has not been unprofitably spent, as it has permitted the resources of the country, the difficulties to be met with, and the means of dealing with them to be usefully studied, and the prospects of working the mines to advantage are at present most encouraging.

ROBERT GORDON.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

THE Home Rule party in India, though of quite recent origin, has already obtained recognition and encouragement from some of the foremost public men in this country. Mr. Gladstone, in one of those mischievous letters in which he plays with the rising forces of sedition as a heedless child might do with a tiger cub, has informed a Mahommedan noble of the State of Hyderabad, that he "desires the extension of the system of representative government," and that, although "it would be a great mistake to carry it *per saltum* into countries where the conditions of its application would be novel, and therefore uncertain," yet he leaves the question of introducing it into India an open one, and is "strongly predisposed against forcibly suppressing any opinion in regard to it which might be expressed in a loyal and peaceful manner." The agitators who have raised the cry of "India for the Indians" are much too astute not to act upon this friendly advice; and they will take very good care henceforth to put forward their demands in perfectly decorous and respectful language, and not to reveal their true designs till they have secured the means of carrying them into effect. Meanwhile, they seek to rivet their claim on the gratitude of one of the two political parties in England, by instructing their chief representative in this country—Lord Salisbury's "black man," Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—to cast in his lot with the English and Irish Separatists, to appear on their platforms, and to assure the democracy of Great Britain that, after Ireland is satisfied, the emancipation of India must next be taken in hand.³ Mr. Bradlaugh, who is one of the strongest pillars of the cause of Home Rule, has undertaken the

duty of laying the grievances of "250 millions" of Indians before the Imperial Parliament; and, clothed with the mantle of Edmund Burke, he summons the British people to do justice to their oppressed fellow-subjects in the East.

While this is the attitude of the Opposition, it is instructive to notice the line of action, or rather of inaction, adopted by Lord Salisbury's Government in dealing with the speeches and writings of members of the Indian National Congress. Lord Dufferin, before leaving India at the close of his tenure of the Viceregal office, had denounced the National Congress as a public danger. It is obvious that the retiring Viceroy, himself a Liberal statesman of the first rank, and inclined by training and experience to look with favour on government by public opinion, would not have spoken out in this way if he had not felt it to be his duty to call the attention of his successor and of the whole British people to the grave evils arising out of the agitation fostered by the wirepullers of the National Congress. He was just relinquishing the reins of power to the Marquis of Lansdowne, and it would naturally have been pleasanter for him, on bidding farewell to India, to prophesy smooth things and to leave the country on good terms with all men, rather than to utter words of reproof and warning which he could not but know would be bitterly resented by the educated natives of India. His farewell speech, therefore, can only have been dictated by a solemn and imperious sense of responsibility.

But how has Lord Dufferin's political testament been treated by the Secretary of State for India? The mood of the India Office, as it may be gathered from statements made in the Houses of Lords and Commons, is one of cheerful and complacent optimism. Lord Dufferin's emphatic deliverance is regarded as if it were of no more moment than a speech made by an irresponsible politician to a public meeting in England. Sir Edward Watkin, on his return home from a visit to India, put a question in the House of

Commons as to a certain "catechism," many thousand copies of which have been circulated among the natives, and in which advantage is taken of the political teaching with which we are familiar in Ireland to suggest to them that it is not necessary to "kill" their European tyrants, as there are other and better ways of getting rid of them. Sir John Gorst, the Under-Secretary of State for India, replying to this question, admitted that Lord Dufferin had described as "questionable" the tendency of this passage in the political catechism, but declared that the Secretary of State, instead of punishing the authors of such writings, hoped to "educate them" out of their antipathy to English rule. It is creditable to Sir John Gorst's powers of self-command that he read this amazing answer without betraying, by so much as a smile or a quiver of his voice, his consciousness of its intrinsic absurdity.

Why, it is to education that the Indian National Congress owes its existence and the means of carrying on its work. It is sheer infatuation or hypocrisy to suggest that a little more education is all that is wanted to convert intriguing malcontents into good subjects. The Indian schools and colleges, which turn out year by year a never-ending supply of political agitators, cannot possibly be diverted to the purpose of teaching the natives to appreciate the advantages of living under English rule. Education quickens the intellectual faculties and stimulates ambition, and we are reaping its fruit in the desire for political independence which it has awakened in the inhabitants of a country which has never known, from the earliest historical times, any other form of government than that of an absolute monarchy. We can all now recognize the prescience of Mountstuart Elphinstone, when, pointing to a pile of school-books, he said: "These will prepare the way for the downfall of English rule in India; but it is our duty to teach the people, nevertheless."

There may be two opinions as to our duty in the matter; but the accuracy of Mountstuart Elphinstone's prophecy is

already established, and Sir John Gorst has only to give the people a little more education in order to succeed in educating the English out of India. The twaddle talked by the chiefs of the India Office on this subject is of course insincere. Sir John Gorst is the last man in the world to believe in the efficacy of the fine sentiments with which, following the traditions of the India Office, he tries to persuade John Bull that the revolutionary propaganda now actively carried on throughout the Queen's Indian Empire can be checked and counteracted by mild appeals to the good sense and loyal emotions of the agitators. There are a certain set of copy-book maxims which are always used on such occasions by English statesmen who wish, by the use of fine phrases, to conceal their own want of courage. "Force is no remedy;" "By driving discontent below the surface you only make it more dangerous;" "Freedom of speech is the safety-valve of nations,"—these and similarly profound sayings do duty over and over again to excuse Ministerial unwillingness to face stubborn facts, and undertake unpleasant responsibilities. The safety-valve theory is a perfect Godsend to timid politicians, some of whom would probably push it to the extent of describing an insurrection as a safety valve.

Let any reasonable man ask himself the plain question, How can representative government and English rule in India exist together? Mr. Gladstone, who has an unlimited capacity for inventing subtle distinctions that would never suggest themselves to the mind of any other human being, says that the system of representative government is "of Aryan and mainly Western origin." Note the artfulness of the suggestion, addressed to our "Aryan brethren" in India, that they have an hereditary interest in a system the practice of which has been confined to a few Western nations, and which can hardly be pronounced an unqualified success anywhere out of England and the United States of America. The argument, implied rather than expressed, that there is a common civilization which

is the joint inheritance of all races belonging to the so-called Aryan stock, will not bear examination. The theory of representative government is based upon the doctrine that all the citizens of a State have equal rights, and are equally entitled to elect members to speak and act for them in the supreme council of the commonwealth. Now, such a doctrine is absolutely unknown to, and inconsistent with, the constitution of Hindoo society. The system of caste has for its first principle the recognition of hereditary right, and is purely aristocratic in its nature, the various social duties and employments being assigned to certain families from generation to generation, in virtue of what is regarded as a Divine law. So far as the Hindoos, therefore, are concerned, the English plan of government by elective councils, for which all men without distinction are entitled to vote, is completely revolutionary. As for the Mahomedans, who form one-fourth of the population of India, the form of government which they prefer is a theocracy with an absolute Commander of the Faithful administering equal justice to all true believers. What, then, is the excuse for upsetting all the preconceived ideas of this vast multitude of the Queen's Eastern subjects, and throwing all India into a ferment by attempts to acclimatize institutions which even in England have been the slow growth of centuries of incessant conflict?

The English in India are bound to tread warily. At each step *incedis per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*. It is only thirty years since we were forced to reconquer the country after a mutiny brought on by the excessive credulity of English officers, who fancied that native mercenaries could be proof against all temptations even when they considered that their faith and caste were assailed. That was an awful lesson, and for a time it was taken to heart. The country was thoroughly disarmed, and the plain truth recognized that implicit reliance could only be placed on the fidelity of European troops. Now, however, a new generation has arisen, and

fresh appeals are made to Englishmen to put their trust in the loyalty of the princes and people of India, and to make over to them the administration of their own affairs. But the Indian mind is really a sealed book to all Europeans. Professions of loyalty from Orientals are utterly worthless. There is not an Indian prince who would not betray us to-morrow if he saw that it was to his interest to do so, and a single defeat of an Anglo-Indian army by Russian troops on the North-west Frontier would be followed by the instant defection of all those Maharajas and Nawabs who now place their armies at the disposal of the Viceroy, and proclaim their devotion to the supreme authority of Queen Victoria. For more than twenty years the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, despoiled of his father's kingdom, frequented the English Court, and seemed happy in the enjoyment of his pension and of the quiet life of an English country gentleman. Nobody fathomed his thoughts, or guessed that that impassive exterior concealed black, bitter, and revengeful feelings against his conquerors, or that, when he bowed low before the Empress of India, he felt it as an insult that she should wear in his presence that priceless jewel, the Koh-i-Noor, which was really his own property. Now, Dhuleep Singh has thrown off the mask, and stands confessed a reckless conspirator and a determined foe to the English race. We have laughed at his bombastic proclamations, and what we esteemed to be his empty threats that reigning princes in India were ready to join him as soon as he raised the standard of revolt. But now comes the story from India that the Maharaja of Cashmere, a general in the British army, and seemingly one of the most loyal of Her Majesty's feudatories, has been for years a traitor; and his treachery is a very serious matter, for by a pass leading through his dominions a Russian army could take our line of fortifications on the frontier in flank, and penetrate into India. Who can say how far down this disloyalty reaches, or what success may have attended the efforts of agents of dis-

affection to tamper with the fidelity of the brave Sikh soldiery?

Other Indian princes might be named, as to whose real disposition towards the English Raj grave suspicions may reasonably be entertained. But suffice it to say that we must expect their conduct to be guided by the ordinary rules of human nature, and that, while the law of self-preservation compels them meanwhile to pay a decorous tribute of loyalty to the powerful British Government, it would be unnatural for them to be satisfied with the state of political impotence to which they have been reduced. They have abundant wealth, and can enjoy freely all the pleasures of life, but, whether they have a taste for field sports or for sensuality, they grow tired of amusing themselves, and then find that, so far as affairs of State are concerned, they are mere puppets of the British Residents at their courts. It must be dull work for them to affect an interest in material and moral progress, and to read reports on the building of bridges and the education of school-children, when they are pining to distinguish themselves as soldiers or statesmen; and behind that inscrutable mask which the British Resident can never tear aside there must be working the tumultuous passions of men eating their hearts away in vain repinings. To princes thus left without hope, even the prospect of a Russian invasion might be welcome as offering them a chance of regaining their independence. It must not be taken for granted, therefore, that the rumours of the success of Russian intrigues with Indian princes are unfounded. Of late years many of them have visited Europe, and formed new ideas of the power of England and the character of her people. It is often contended that these visits must have done good by impressing Indian princes with a keen sense of the strength and resources of this country, and the virtues of the British nation. But it is greatly to be feared that the gross flatteries heaped upon them by British admirers of royalties, and the temptations pressed upon their ac-

ceptance—it will be remembered that Azimoolah Khan, Nana Sahib's chief minister, used to boast of his *bonnes fortunes* with English ladies—have in too many cases turned their heads. One of them, on being asked by a friend to whom he thought he could speak his mind freely what was his opinion of English society, replied, "We have a proverb in our language that a mountain looks very grand and awe-inspiring at a distance; but, when you see it close at hand, you find it is only made up of blocks of stone." Evidently this prince must have returned home feeling more humiliated and restless than ever under the British yoke, and inclined to countenance secretly, if he dared not do so openly, a National Congress which aims at the destruction of British supremacy.

That the Congress must receive much pecuniary support from natives of high position who do not choose publicly to avow their sympathy with the movement, may be inferred from the large expenditure of money on publications and in the payment of travelling agents who carry the propaganda of the new political faith into the remotest districts. The active workers of the Congress, the writers and speakers who argue from the analogy of the origin and development of Parliamentary institutions in England that India is ripe for at least such an approach to representative government as Simon de Montfort secured in his House of Commons of the thirteenth century, are for the most part clever journalists and barristers whose imagination has been influenced by their study of English literature, and who think that their culture gives them a right to fill the highest offices in the State. One or two native gentlemen who have won a high reputation as administrators, like Sir Madava Rao, are pushed to the front to give an air of respectability to the agitation; but the more fiery spirits are ambitious graduates who chafe against a system of government that would condemn them to remain mute inglorious Burkes and Ciceros when they feel themselves capable of commanding

the applause of listening Senates. Of the force and volume of their eloquence there can be no doubt, though to a severe taste it seems to be sometimes disfigured by the barbarous opulence of its ornamentation. The most severe shock that my early admiration for Mr. Gladstone's oratory ever received was when I heard a distinguished Calcutta Baboo pour forth a perfect torrent of Gladstonese with a verbosity that the Grand Old Man himself could hardly rival; and the speeches delivered at the Indian Congress put the debates in our own House of Commons to shame. Indeed, if the world were governed by talk, the Hindoos and the Irish would be the ruling races of mankind.

It is commonly assumed that the principal Congressmen are all Bengalis, but this is a mistake. The Mahratta Brahmins from Poona form a very important and influential section. They belong to the priestly caste that sustained the great Sivajee in his heroic resistance to the power of the Great Mogul, and ultimately established the Mahratta Empire on the ruins of that of Delhi. Proud of these comparatively recent memories, gifted with remarkably subtle and shrewd intellects, and possessing the confidence of the powerful Mahratta princes of Central and Western India, the Brahminical contingent of agitators are far more capable than their Bengali colleagues of organizing a dangerous political intrigue, and well-informed Anglo-Indians say that the Congress is directed from Poona rather than from Calcutta. Then there are the Parsees to be reckoned with, men belonging to a small community of foreign traders who were barely tolerated by the Hindoos before the English landed at Bombay, and who have grown prosperous and powerful under our rule. The Parsees twenty years ago held themselves aloof from the natives of India, and aimed at becoming thoroughly English in dress, manners, and speech; but the younger generation, who have had a literary rather than a commercial training, have made common cause with the Hindoo graduates of

Poona. A few Mahommedans have joined in the agitation, but the Indian Mussulmans as a body are bitterly opposed to a movement which, if it were successful, would place political power in the hands of their hereditary enemies.

The speeches delivered at the recent Congress, held in December, 1888, were much more moderate in tone than the fiery orations of former years, prudence having been imposed by Lord Dufferin's severe criticisms, and by the anxiety of the leading agitators to make out a plausible case for submission to the Imperial Parliament. Violent denunciations of England and the English would, it was felt, provoke the hostility of a friendly observer like Mr. Caine, M.P., who attended the meeting of the Congress to learn what the delegates had to say for themselves. The Congress, therefore, began its proceedings with a fervent declaration of loyalty to the Queen which is worth about as much for practical purposes as the legend, "For King and Parliament," under which the English Puritans raised an army to fight against their lawful Sovereign. The subsequent proceedings impressed Mr. Caine with such an admiration for the good sense of the delegates and the purity of their English, that he came away convinced that we ought to take them into partnership, with a view to our own retirement from the business of governing India. This end, he thinks, may be afar off, may not be reached for centuries to come; but he underrates the rapidity with which a nation, when it has once begun to move downwards on an inclined plane, can be precipitated into the abyss of revolution. Mr. Caine, however, has done the English people the service of putting clearly before them the question, whether they wish to "retire from business" in India. My own belief is that, having gained possession of that country, they mean to keep it at any cost, and have not the slightest intention of giving it up, either to the native inhabitants of India or to a foreign enemy. But the danger is, that they may be deceived by smooth speeches into parting with the only means by which they can main-

tain their hold on India. It is necessary, therefore, to call their attention to the real nature of the resolutions passed by the delegates at the National Congress of 1888.

The power of the purse and the power of the sword—these are the modest and reasonable demands which the English rulers of India are asked to concede to the educated natives. Were such claims once granted, nothing would remain for Englishmen but to pack up their baggage and return home. There are, of course, subsidiary resolutions relating to matters of minor importance. A complaint against the present system of Excise duties, as producing a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants in India, was included in the programme as a personal compliment to Mr. Caine. Professor Stuart and his supporters in the House of Commons were warmly thanked for their services in doing away with the regulation of prostitution in India. But these are matters of small moment. The really important resolutions are those relating to the Legislative Councils and the military defence of India. The programme of the Congress is to substitute for the present Viceregal Council, in which the official element is all-powerful, an Assembly of which not less than one-half the members are to be elected, and not more than one-fourth to be members, official or non-official, nominated by Government. To this Assembly it is proposed that all legislative measures and all financial questions, "including all budgets," shall be submitted for decision. Then follows this proviso:—

"The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but, whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary shall be published within one month, and the Government of India shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Secretary of State; and, on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the third Resolution of the Congress of 1887, which the Congress of 1888 has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any, and all, papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House."

Could any more ingenious machinery of obstruction be invented to paralyze the action of the Executive Government of India, and prevent it from spending a single rupee except with the consent first obtained of a majority of the elected Council? But this is not all. To complete the scheme, "a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country" is to be introduced, "such as may qualify them to support the Government effectually in any crisis." The Arms Act is to be repealed; every native, "in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects," is to be allowed to possess and wear arms, and military colleges are to be established "whereat the natives of India may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian army." Now, let any practical politician consider for a moment what would be the position of the Government of India, working under a constitution of this kind, if an emergency arose requiring an increase of taxation to provide for the defence of the Empire. The majority in the Legislative Assembly would probably refuse to grant supplies; the volunteers might give the Government not "effectual support," but effectual opposition; and, if a complete separation of the executive and judicial functions had been effected—this being one of the favourite reforms suggested by the Congress—it would be impossible for the Viceroy, having no control over the judicial officers, to enforce the collection of any revenue at all.

The more closely the proposals of the Congress are examined, the greater becomes one's amazement at the audacity of the men who can imagine that they would be seriously considered by the English people. Was ever an imperial nation so coolly requested to abdicate its authority, and surrender its most cherished possessions, to men whose fitness to rule is based simply on a certain imitative capacity to make long speeches? The delegates to the Indian National Congress have no real grievances to bring forward.

The English Government in India exists by virtue of its power to control the passions of warring creeds and races,

to maintain order and prosperity over a vast country inhabited by many millions of people who never lived at peace with one another before, and to give equal justice, equal rights of property, to all its subjects. It is not alleged that the Government has failed in this mission. The Congress rather founds its complaints on the denial to the natives of certain abstract rights which it regards as the common inheritance of all mankind. Thus, it insists upon the extension of the right of trial by jury, although this is an institution of purely Western origin which may be made the instrument of working the most grievous injustice in communities which are not homogeneous, and in which the majority of the population are eager to oppress the minority. Another right, dear to the Congress, is that of every graduate of a university in India to a good place in the service of the Government. This is not stated in so many words, but it is the substance of many speeches and resolutions. But education does not necessarily qualify men for the possession of independence. The rudest British soldier in India, inheriting the traditions of many generations of free men, and having an instinctive capacity for the practice of self-government, has a larger share of the virtues of a citizen than belongs to the most eloquent Baboo in Calcutta.

The mistake the Indian Government has made is in devoting so much public money to secondary and higher education in colleges in which teaching is completely divorced from morality and discipline, and which simply produce swarms of dissatisfied patriots. It is satisfactory to learn that this mistake is now admitted, and that the Government means gradually to withdraw its support from such institutions, and to provide higher education only for such natives as can afford to pay for it, and have the means to live afterwards without calling on the State to provide them with incomes. But I regret that the Government has not gone further, and determined to prohibit further meetings of the National Congress. Why

should an organization of this sort, mainly self-elected, and not representing the masses of the people, who are content under British rule and at least passively loyal, be allowed to gather strength from year to year, till it becomes a rival authority to that of the Executive Government? Are English statesmen really desirous that India shall become another and a larger Ireland? If not, it is time for them to arouse themselves from their attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the Congress, before the masses of the Indian population fall a prey to the agents of a mischievous agitation. Nothing would be easier than to stop the meetings of the Congress at present; a few years hence, such a course would be too late. Let us have the courage to repudiate the pretence, which foreign nations laugh at, and which hardly deceives ourselves, that we keep India merely for the benefit of the people of that country and in order to train them for self-government. We keep it for the sake of the interests and the honour of England; and the only form of government by which we can continue to hold it in subjection is that of a despotism.

J. M. MACLEAN.

THE BHILS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

OF all the subjects of the Queen there are, perhaps, none more wild, simple, and strange than the Bhils of Central India, an aboriginal race inhabiting the dense jungle and the rough country on the spurs of the Vindhya and Satpura mountains, north and south of the Nerbudda river. The tract inhabited by these interesting savages was one of the administrative divisions of the province over which I have presided for the last eight years, and there was no portion of my charge which presented greater variety of interest or which required more delicate handling, owing to the suspicious nature of the Bhils and the unfriendly relations which have always existed between the ruling chiefs of Rajput blood and their aboriginal subjects, whom they have been accustomed to treat as slaves and bondsmen. The strong influence of the British Government has compelled the Rajput princes to behave with some show of outward decency and forbearance towards the Bhils, but there is no love lost between them, and their relations much resemble those of the proud Magyars of Hungary and the Slovak peasants, whom they consider as their serfs.

The Bhils have always appeared to me deserving of far more scientific attention than they have so far received, and the claim which has been advanced on their behalf to represent, together with other forest and hill tribes, the aboriginal races of India, driven to these natural fastnesses by the Aryan wave of immigration and conquest, is well worthy of being tested in every possible manner.

During the last two years of my residence in Central India I devoted some time to an inquiry into the customs and language of this curious people, and from the mouth

of intelligent representatives of their various tribes and sections I have amassed a considerable store of information of social and philological interest, both in comparative vocabularies and in details of tribal custom, which I shall endeavour to utilize at some future time. But ethnological and philological detail would not be suitable for this Review, which rather seeks to attract an intelligent popular interest in Oriental affairs than to satisfy the critical demands of experts; and I will only endeavour, in the following pages, to give a slight sketch of the Bhils of Central India, in the hope of stimulating the interest of others in their history and future, and encouraging a social study which will amply repay research.

Very little, so far as I am aware, has been hitherto written on the subject. Colonel William Kincaid, a very intelligent and kindly observer, read before the Anthropological Society in November, 1879, a short paper on the tribe, but it was admittedly incomplete, and it is to be regretted that this officer, who was for many years Political Agent in the Bhil country, and who, moreover, commanded the Malwa Bhil Corps, the headquarters of which is at Sirdarpur, in Central India, should not have given the Society more detailed information regarding the tribe with which he was so intimately acquainted, and the confidence of which he had undoubtedly won by his just and friendly treatment.

A slight monograph on the Bhils of Rajputana (a closely-allied race, though differing in some important customs) was published some years ago by Dr. Hendley, of Jeypore—a very competent observer; but this, too, was a mere sketch, and the work of scientific inquiry into the language and customs of this aboriginal people has still to be seriously undertaken.

It is somewhat of a reproach to English science that no students of philology or comparative sociology have as yet thoroughly investigated the Bhil language and customs, but sufficient excuse may be found in the want of

special training in social science of the members of the Indian Political Service, and the great multiplicity of their ordinary duties, which leave them little leisure to undertake scientific inquiry.

The district in Central India inhabited by the Bhils is the south-western corner, which is formed of a portion of the Mahratta States of Indore and the Rajput Principalities of Barwani, Rajpur and Jhabua, with portions of Dhar, the chief of which is of mixed Rajput and Mahratta blood. Beyond these, the Bhils overflow, westward of the Central Indian States, into the Rajput States of Khandeish, under the Bombay Government.

Through this country, which is but a network of hills, rising in some places to a considerable height, runs, in an almost straight course, the revered and miracle-working stream of the Nerbudda, which, in a few years' time, is to displace the Ganges itself in the religious estimation of Hindus. Of all the rivers of India, there is probably no one which is surrounded by more romance and mystic interest than the Nerbudda, while for strange and fantastic beauty it takes a high rank among the celebrated rivers of the world; but its beauties are little known to English travellers. A few may perhaps see it where it falls into the Gulf of Cambay, below Broach; some may cross it at Hoshangabad or at Mortakka, where the branch lines to Rajputana, Bhopal, and Gwalior leave the main line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. A larger number of tourists halting at Jabalpur, which is, as it were, the very centre and omphalos of India, spend a few hours in visiting the holy river, which here flows through marble rocks of some, though exaggerated, beauty, and beyond this the sight-seeing traveller knows nothing of the Nerbudda although its course is everywhere beautiful, from its rise at Amarkantak, at the southernmost point of the Rewah State, in Central India, till, dashing in a thousand rapids and whirlpools through the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, in the Bhil country, it bursts in a broad stream into the

Bombay plain below. From its birthplace to its grave in the sea the Nerbudda is an object of superstitious veneration, and in a country like India, where water, to the unscientific mind, signifies even more than the sunlight and heat, the vivifying principle of Nature, which changes the desert into a flowering garden, the adoration of streams is both natural and appropriate. Amarkantak, where the Nerbudda rises, is one of the most sacred spots in India, and in spite of its remoteness and its exceeding difficulty of approach, is visited every year by thousands of devout Hindus. It is one of the historical watersheds of the world. On one side gently flows the holy Nerbudda to mingle its waters with the Indian Ocean; on the other is the source of the great Soane river, which joins the Ganges below Benares, and falls into the Bay of Bengal, on the opposite side of India. To the traveller these watersheds of imposing rivers suggest many fanciful reflections. Twin raindrops shaken from the sky fall to earth at Amarkantak, and are carried in opposite directions across India, never again to meet, until, like Vasco da Gama, they have sailed round a continent. Such a watershed is the Ridge at Simla, on which the church and town hall are built. The rain which falls on one side of this narrow roadway helps to feed the mighty Ganges, and glides past Benares and Allahabad and a thousand shrines, till it reaches the Bay of Bengal, while that falling only a few feet away departs, as it were, into the outer darkness, flowing through a wilderness of mountains to join the Ravee, the Jhelum, or the mighty Indus, and by circuitous, but certain, routes, finds its way to Karachi, into the Indian Ocean. Amarkantak is perhaps the most sacred spot on the Nerbudda, but there is another of almost equal sanctity, in the heart of the Bhil country, called Mahésar, crowded with temples and marble ghâts, or bathing places, built by the piety of Mahratta and Rajput princes, and more especially by that of the celebrated Mahratta Rani, Ahlia Bai, the widow of Khunde Rao Holkar, the magnificence of whose public buildings

testified as much to her good taste as to her benevolence. Onkarnath Mandatta, generally known among the common people as Onkarji, is not far off, and this island, covered with temples, is a place of exceeding sanctity. The late Maharaja Holkar, who was a superstitious man, and who, like the mediæval English barons, was anxious to make peace with the Church on his death-bed, was most anxious to obtain the possession of Onkarji, and declared that he could not die happy unless it was granted to him. So great was his urgency on this point, and so many were his extravagant requests that it had been necessary to refuse, that I begged the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, to accede to the Maharaja's wishes, which he was prepared to do; but the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, within whose jurisdiction the holy island lay, raised so many difficulties about its surrender, that the matter was allowed to drop. Holkar, however, never forgot it, and on his death-bed sent me a message begging me to make a last effort to obtain for him the sacred shrine, but he was unconscious before my reply reached him.

On the Bhils, the presence of these sacred Hindu shrines has little effect, although, as I shall hereafter show, Hinduism has so far been superimposed upon these aboriginal savages as to induce their half-hearted acceptance of the principal Hindu deities; yet, as a matter of personal practice, the Bhil cares for none of these things, understanding that he should not presume to worship the same gods as his betters, and to enter these highly-decorated Mahratta or Rajput shrines would be an impossibility for him; so he passes them by as if they belonged to a creed altogether apart, and waits to say his prayers till he can pass the familiar vermilion-smeared stone outside his own cottage door. But although the Bhil does not worship in the Nerbudda temples, he yet regards the river with veneration and terror. For some twenty-five miles it rushes through his country in a succession of rapids and cataracts, over which only one

European, Captain St. John Mildmay, has successfully passed, when the river was in flood, and he barely escaped with his life.

The Bhils are held by the Hindus among whom they live in profound contempt. The Brahmanical creed, with its caste exclusiveness and its insistence upon purity of blood in the male line, gives it a contemptuous air towards all aliens which is disturbing to the equanimity of its objects, and which is the real cause of the estrangement between the English and Indians which is often erroneously attributed to the coldness and reserve of the former. But the attitude of the Hindu towards the English is rather that of the Pharisees in Jerusalem towards Pilate and the Roman legions. The contempt is mingled with a very strong proportion of respect, fear and esteem. But towards the Bhil, the slave of slaves, the outcast of centuries, the very refuse and waste of the old world before the Aryans arose and gave it the rudiments of civilization, the sentiment of the Hindus is unmitigated scorn.

Since the days when the Aryan conquerors of Afghanistan and the Punjab swept down into the fertile plains of Central India, and drove into the inaccessible thickets the black, monkey-like aborigines, the Bhils have been regarded very much as wild animals whom it was no moral offence to chase and kill. In one or two States like Barwani and Rajpur the Bhil population was always too numerous, compared with the Aryan conquerors, to make this method of treatment profitable, and there they have for centuries received a somewhat contemptuous toleration, paying almost all the revenue, and, in return for the merest pittance above starvation, allowed alone the right to live. Since the British Government has compelled peace and obedience to law in these remote and petty principalities, the position of the Bhil has generally improved. Their very helplessness and simplicity has engaged the warm interest, and in some cases the affection, of the English officers who have had to deal with them. The distinguishing attribute

of an imperial race is its sympathy with and kindly consideration for inferior races—" *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos* "—and in no case has this been shown with greater or more beneficial effect than in the relations between political officers and the Bhils, whose confidence has been won, and who look to their English rulers in every case of hardship and oppression for redress. The Rajput chiefs and their Hindu Ministers have been compelled by persuasion, by pressure, and in some cases by threat of deposition, to observe the rights of their Bhil subjects, and to refrain from imposing upon them a burden of taxation which they were unable to bear. The consequence is that the Bhil is gradually becoming less of a savage, is losing some of his wild ways, which his forefathers learnt from the hunted animals of the forest, and is slowly entering the ways of civilization. I know many Bhils, especially those who have passed through the local regiment, who are intelligent men, with a shrewd knowledge of their limited world; while for woodcraft and knowledge of the ways of bird and beast there are none who can surpass this neglected and despised people.

The disgust felt and expressed by orthodox Hindus to the Bhils is in great part due to their eating the flesh of the cow, and this practice was no doubt anterior to the Aryan conquest.

Some of the earlier Hindu records, and especially the Mahabharata, the national epic, contain a fairly exact description of the race and their alleged descent from the great Mahadeo (Siva), of whom the Bhil ancestor was one of the children by a beautiful woman whom he met in the forest, and who cured him of various diseases with which he was afflicted. The child, who was as vicious as deformed, killed the favourite bull of the god, for which crime he and his descendants were banished to the jungles under the name of Bhils. The myth is of value as showing the tendency of Hindu thought to explain all social phenomena by a reference to and con-

nection with their own special mythology. Besides the cow and the buffalo, the Bhil feeds upon almost every animal the flesh of which is abhorrent to the Hindus except some degraded castes, such as the Chamars, or leather-dressers. The only wild animal from which he abstains is the monkey, the symbol of the forest god Hanumán, who is universally worshipped. The tiger, though naturally dreaded, is held in great respect, and the Bhils are most unwilling to take the initiative in killing it, although there are no keener assistants in tiger-shooting to the English sportsman. The guilt attaching to the slaughter is then borne by others than themselves. When, however, a tiger has grown especially obnoxious, or has become a man-eater, a conference is called, a trial held with religious rites, and sentence passed against the assassin. He is then tracked and killed without much difficulty with poisoned arrows, and his carcase is hung on the branch of a tree over the principal road, as a solemn warning to others of his kind. As the Bhil roads are mere foot-tracks on the mountains, and it is often impossible to leave the path, it is far from pleasant passing under the decaying body of one of these sentenced and executed tigers.

A singular custom, showing the antiquity of the Bhil race as compared with the Hindus, and their ancient proprietary rights over the country from which they have now been dispossessed, is the fact that in the coronation ceremony of the highest Rajput chiefs, in States possessing a Bhil population, the *teeka*, or sacred mark of kingship, is impressed on the forehead of the new chief by the head of the Bhil family to which this hereditary privilege belongs. Nor do the Bhils consider that the Rajput prince is really their ruler until this ceremony has been performed. The Maharana of Udiyar is the highest in rank and descent of all the Rajput princes of India, tracing his lineage to the Sun, yet on the day of his installation it is the despised Bhil who places this sign of kingship on his forehead.

My first intimate acquaintance with the Bhil country was in the winter of 1883, when the misgovernment and oppression of the chiefs of the States of Jhábua and Ali Rajpur, or their Ministers, acting in the latter case on behalf of a minor prince, caused so great excitement amongst the ordinarily submissive Bhils that a general rising of the whole tribe was apprehended. The Political Agent, Major Biddulph, an officer of great ability, was new to the country and the people, and the insurrection had already gained considerable strength, and had spread over a large area, before he was able in person to march with a handful of troops to the spot, and by a prompt and gallant attack on the forest stronghold of one of the chief ringleaders check the insurrection. Serious risings, however, continued to take place in various quarters, and several towns and villages were burnt and pillaged, and it became necessary to move a strong body of troops into the country. I was at the time in Rewah, several hundred miles off in the opposite angle of Central India, but at once proceeded to the Bhil country with the Malwa Bhil Corps and the Central India Horse, regiments under my orders, and marched to Rajpur, the centre of the disturbed districts; while the Commander-in-chief of the Bombay Army, at my request, moved out a strong force to Sirdarpur from Mhow, the head-quarters of the division, to act as a reserve and support to the local troops. Fortunately I found it possible to arrange the affair without bloodshed. The Bhil leaders, seeing that we were rather disposed to redress their grievances than punish the people generally for the manner in which they had brought these to notice, flocked to my camp in great numbers, and long conferences were held, in which Major Biddulph and Colonel Kincaid did admirable service until they were stricken by jungle fever and had to be sent to Sirdarpur in a critical condition.

There is no occasion to dwell on the negotiations; but the result was, that while certain of the ringleaders were

arrested and transported, and these principally Afghan and Beluchi foreigners, and the estates of two of the more important of the local nobility were confiscated, the grievances of the Bhils generally, which were genuine enough, were one and all redressed. The special taxes which had been recently imposed by the Rajas, and which were so burdensome, both on agriculture and on forest produce, as to be impossible of payment, were remitted. The objectionable foreign element was banished from the country, and strict guarantees were taken from the chiefs and their Ministers that in future their administration should be less oppressive, and that no changes in the reformed order of things should be made without the permission of the political officer in charge of the division. The arrangements then made have been observed till now, and there has never been, during the past six years, any sign on the part of the Bhils of a disposition to rebel. The Rajas have, from time to time, attempted to evade the agreement and to impose additional taxation, but this has been peremptorily forbidden, and the Bhils are now, with the exception of occasional robbery and cattle-lifting, as orderly and well-disposed a population as any in Central India. Not a shot was fired in anger during our peaceful campaign, and the British troops at Sirdarpur were almost immediately withdrawn, though for some time to come we kept up strong detachments of the Malwa Bhil Corps in those parts of the country which had been most disturbed. When we first marched to Rajpur the country appeared deserted, and the tiny Bhil hamlets, not built in villages after the Hindu custom, but two or three huts together (tapra) or single huts, protected from wild animals or sudden assaults of robbers by a strong thorn fence and by a high, barred gate, were all empty, and the women and children hidden in the higher hills. It was not for some time that these shy creatures could be induced to leave their retreats. Nor could the Bhil leaders, accustomed to the treachery of their native rulers, be easily

brought into camp. The first I met came in under safe conduct, after long negotiations. I received him seated at the door of my tent, with the English officers accompanying me; and the robber chief came forward accompanied by a large number of his followers, with their bows slung and the arrows fitted to the string. This sign of suspicion was not altogether reassuring, as a Bhil arrow, at a few yards distance, is as deadly as a rifle-bullet; but it was inexpedient to show any sign of disquietude, and an attempt to disarm our visitors would have been followed by a volley of arrows. They accordingly sat down before us on the ground, with their arrows still fixed in their bow-strings, and detailed at great length their grievances, which were listened to and discussed, and they were at last dismissed with small presents to a feast, at which the liquor of the mhowa tree formed the most important part.

The chief of this robber band was a man of somewhat distinguished appearance and much fairer than his tribesmen. He was a bold and skilful soldier, and although for some time he behaved well after this episode, he was killed in a cattle-lifting expedition not long afterwards. The morality of the Bhil is not to be judged by European standards, and cattle-lifting is with him as honourable a pursuit as on the Scotch border two hundred years ago. He proclaims himself to be a thief by Divine decree as part of the curse pronounced upon his ancestors by the great god Mahadeo when he slew the sacred bull. But their predatory habits have undergone a considerable change, and in the plain country and the valleys an annually increasing number take to agriculture and contrive to partly support themselves by cultivating Indian corn and millet. But the Bhil is far too lazy and fond of a wild life to make a good cultivator, and his profits from his tiny farm even in good years must be supplemented by the produce of the forest. In such seasons when too heavy a rainfall has not destroyed his crop or continued drought prevented it reaching maturity, the Bhil is a fairly respectable person. Crime

rises, if indeed it can fairly be called crime, with bad harvests and drought. When the streams run dry and the Bhil can neither obtain fish (in the catching of which he is a proficient, being the only native in India who, so far as I know, uses a fly in fishing), and the wild animals leave his neighbourhood for distant and low-lying jungles where they can obtain water and shelter, then the Bhil, in self-preservation, turns with a light heart to the congenial occupation of cattle-lifting; and if the season be especially bad or a weak hand is on the reins of administration, he advances to the higher grades of highway robbery and the pillage of defenceless villages. In these more bold and organized raids he is instigated and encouraged by a class of men whom I have done my best to expel from Central India: Muhammadan foreigners from beyond the North-west Frontier; Arabs, Mekranis, Pathans, and Baluchis, who have come from time to time into Central India from love of adventure or in hope of plunder; others summoned by the Rajput chiefs, who employ them as soldiery to keep their unruly subjects in order. Often they are employed by the native shopkeepers and money-lenders to collect their debts, and the mischief which these fierce mercenaries do amongst the quiet and timid races of Central India, is incalculable. They are a source of terror to the country side. Almost without exception, bold, unscrupulous and fierce, they levy contributions on their own account from the people, and are always ready to instigate or to lead the raids which they easily persuade the simple and credulous Bhils to commit. If it were not for the example and prompting of these foreigners Central India would be a far more peaceful country than it now is; but they are the curse and scourge both of the Bhil States and of Indore, Bhopal, and portions of Gwalior. Their numbers are happily diminishing; I have sent many of those who have added murder to robbery to the gallows or to transportation for life, and have strictly forbidden the enlistment of others by the chiefs or the mercantile classes. It is, however,

exceedingly difficult to keep them altogether out of Central India, where information is slowly received at headquarters and where the interest of so many is to conceal the arrival and employment of these useful, but dangerous foreigners : while the passes at Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, and Quetta are open to all who choose to come, without any system of passports, which should be enforced at the doors leading into India from travellers belonging to races whose residence in the country is ordinarily undesirable. The practice of unrestricted intercourse is objectionable, and the Government of India should take care that its timid and gentle subjects are not harried by the hordes of wolves, who, under its protection and indeed connivance, descend upon the fertile plains of India to plunder and ravage very much in the same manner as their conquering ancestors with their large armies swept the country before the time of English supremacy.

It was with the hope of reclaiming the Bhils from their wild and predatory habits and teaching them to take a share in the maintenance of order that some years ago a military corps was raised, to be recruited mainly from the tribe, with such small leaven of soldiers of other nationalities as might teach the simple savages the elements of military bearing and discipline. The headquarters of the regiment was fixed at Sirdarpur, and numerous detachments from it are stationed at various points in the Bhil country north and south of the Nerbudda, being frequently relieved. The men of the regiment are all allowed to marry, and the consequence is that at Sirdarpur is perhaps the largest Bhil population collected in any one place. Their wages are small, about five English rupees, but their wants are simple : and although to the eye of a military officer accustomed to the strict discipline and the faultless appearance on parade of the British or native regiments of India, the Bhils may appear irregular and slovenly, yet the object of their enlistment has been very completely obtained. The wild savage rapidly changes after his enlistment : the elevating tendency

of discipline and responsibility comparatively civilizes him ; while for the purposes of police, which is all that can ordinarily be expected of the corps, they are incomparably superior to any native or European troops who would be useless in so wild a country, of which the Bhil knows every way and mountain path. Nor as soldiers are they to be despised. Till the other day they were armed with the old muzzle-loading smoothbore, but I procured for them Snider rifles. They are now fairly efficient, though not fit to be placed in line with the best native regiments ; but with much natural timidity and shyness in the presence of an unknown mysterious civilization, they are physically a courageous race, and have on many occasions that I could name behaved with conspicuous gallantry. As might be supposed, their powers of endurance are almost unequalled. For a Bhil to go fifty miles in a night is a matter of ordinary occurrence. The town of Dhar is situated some twenty miles from Sirdarpur, and the soldiers are accustomed to attend its weekly fair, doing the forty miles easily, starting in the morning and returning by roll-call at eight in the evening, often carrying a considerable load. For scouting purposes, in a rough country where cavalry could not be used, the Bhil sepoy would be invaluable, for their forest life has given them a keenness of vision and hearing which is only equalled by their powers of endurance. Heat and cold seem to affect the Bhil little, and, like the camel among animals, he can live where others would starve. I have often seen them sleeping happily under their carts almost naked, in many degrees of frost, while the intensity of the summer heat in their deep valleys and on the exposed hillsides is abundantly shown by their dark colour, many degrees deeper than that of the ordinary Hindu. This indifference to changes of temperature increases their value as soldiers, as tents are unnecessary and their baggage is consequently of the lightest description. Military service is not however congenial to the Bhil, nor would he remain in the regiment unless he were allowed frequent leave of

absence, and unless his wife and family were permitted to settle in the lines.

In Meywar in Rajputana where a second Bhil corps is established, enlistment is comparatively easy, but it is not so in Malwa, of which I am writing, where it may be said that almost every youth who comes in as a recruit has run away from home; and it is no uncommon thing for the recruiting party to be pursued by the angry relations of the truant with bent bows, the boy being threatened with instant death unless he returns home. A small proportion of Náiks, who are a Bhil class living in the open country, of greater intelligence and more military aptitude than the ordinary Bhil, are allowed in the regiment, but they are not so good as jungle soldiers: twenty-five Bhilalas are also permitted. This tribe is a union between Bhils and Rajputs, and to them belong the chiefs of the Vindhya. They are of a very much higher class and character than the Bhils and are steady hardworking people, fairly well off: consequently they do not enlist, and there is only one at the present time in the corps.

Although, judged by a civilized standard, the Bhil would perhaps take a low place in the social scale, yet he is the possessor of virtues which civilization might acquire with advantage. He has in the first place, an invincible habit of speaking the truth; and this is the more remarkable in a race so long downtrodden and oppressed. Lying is the natural refuge of the weak, and a slavish and degraded people is almost invariably false; but the Bhil will, by some divine impulse, speak the truth to his own hurt, or even ruin, on the most critical occasions. Many cases of Bhils convicted of manslaughter or murder have come before me for confirmation of sentences of imprisonment, transportation, or death; and in very few of these has there been any attempt on the part of the accused to deny his guilt. He will plead, with much force, extenuating circumstances, generally drunkenness, but his excuses will be truthful, and the imminent risk of death

will not induce him to speak falsely. It seems a misuse of terms to call savage or uncivilized a race which possesses this attribute of truthfulness in so distinguished a degree. Their most solemn oath is by the dog, this animal being naturally highly prized by a forest race living on the produce of the chase. The Bhil places his hand on the head of the dog, and invokes its curse should he break his word. It is curious that in this custom the Central Indian savage should resemble the most distinguished of Greek philosophers, for *μη τὸν κύνά* was the favourite oath of Socrates. So sacred is the dog that a Bhil killing one is excommunicated.

The Bhil is of a gay and light-hearted disposition, and every incident in his simple life is made the occasion for a feast and a drinking bout. He is indeed a sad drunkard, and although I have no desire to add to the arguments at the disposal of the Temperance League, it is an undoubted fact, to which officers who know this tribe will testify, that violent crimes, assaults and homicide are almost entirely due to drink. When excited by joy or sorrow, the Bhil drinks; and if he or his friends can afford it, he drinks to excess. The quiet and good-tempered little savage then becomes dangerous, and with his deadly bow and arrows, or his thick forest club, is in the humour for any mischief. Then the thoughts of his wife's infidelities or his friend's unpaid debt, matters to which he attaches the slightest importance when sober, assume a sinister importance, and, blinded by alcoholic fury, he attacks and destroys the object of his wrath. Nineteen-twentieths of the murder and homicide cases that have come before me from the Bhil country have been due to intemperance. The cause of his temptation and fall from sobriety is to be found everywhere around him in the forest. In the same way as Providence, anxious for the enlightened exhilaration of man, has bestowed the hop on England and the vine on France, so the wild jungle of Central India is covered with a luxuriant and umbrageous tree

called Mowra, the white fleshy flowers of which form, when pounded and mixed with grain, a palatable food, and when distilled by the simple processes known to the Bhils, produce a highly intoxicating spirit, somewhat similar in flavour to the corn-brandy, or *vodka*, used in Russia and Scandinavia, with a peculiar and disagreeable smell. When, however, trebly distilled, this odour is nearly lost, and refined *mowra* may, in my opinion, take rank among palatable liqueurs. Almost every village contains a certain number of these trees—some owned by individuals, others by the group of huts which form the hamlet; and the heavy taxation imposed by native chiefs on the Mowra trees was one of the principal causes of the insurrection of 1883. The Bombay Government about the same time attempted to levy taxation on Mowra trees within its jurisdiction, but the opposition was so great that the idea had to be abandoned. In the Bhil States I induced the chiefs to surrender this unpopular impost, and the Bhil is now able, untaxed, to enjoy one of the few pleasures common to civilization and barbarism. To the forest, indeed, the Bhil has to look for the principal part of his livelihood, and he is, indeed, so expert a hunter that the forests, circumscribed as they are by increased cultivation and the demand for timber for fuel and construction, are becoming more and more denuded of animal life, and it is almost as unusual to see or hear a bird in a Malwa jungle as it is in a French forest. By the cutting and sale of timber the Bhil obtains most profit, but the work is not congenial to so lazy an individual. He and his women collect the honey of the wild bees, roots and berries in the forest, and it is a fortunate circumstance that throughout India the years of excessive drought are precisely those when the fruits of the forest trees are produced in the greatest abundance. This was especially noticeable in the great famine of 1869, and I recorded in my Famine Report of that year how the lives of thousands of the population in the more

arid districts of the Punjab, such as Delhi, Sirsa, and Hissar, were saved owing to the extraordinarily plentiful supply of the ber (*zizyphus jujuba*) fruit in the jungle. During this terrible year the same phenomenon was noticed in Bundelkhand and the northern districts of Central India, and in the Bhil country; while the bamboo flowered most abundantly, and the belief of the Bhils was that their gods had expressly commanded the bamboo to fulfil this function to an extraordinary degree to save their lives; and Colonel Kincaid informs me that in the principal bazaars bamboo-seed was selling in such quantities that the price was only eight measures per rupee, no other grain being available in many of the wilder parts for love or money. The Mowra and the Corinda (*carissa carandas*) shrub are also especially prolific in times of drought. Even the ants are brought under contribution by the Bhils, and their lofty nests are found to contain astonishing quantities of grass seed.

Like all forest tribes, the Bhils have the most intimate knowledge of animals, birds, and even insects, though they have a superstitious dread of talking of them, and do not like to give much information about them. Of ants, however, they speak freely, and treat them with both respect and gratitude, feeding them, not like the Hindus from religious motives, but with a sense of favours to come, in the prospective plunder of their nests in times of famine. As trackers, the Bhils are unrivalled, and having taken the measure of a footprint with a straw, will follow the trail unerringly through the forest.

The Bhil priest is not, as among the Hindus, of any particular caste, but the profession is a hereditary one. He is employed in agriculture like other Bhils, and performs the ordinary ceremonies at the time of births, deaths, &c., in addition to his usual work, and is paid by his clients in contributions of grain.

The Bhils proper deny relationship with the Náhals, who inhabit the Satpuras in the Barwáni district, although these are popularly supposed to be of Bhil origin. The

headmen of the Náhals are known as Náiks, and have a certain authority in the Barwáni State, their chief receiving Rs. 30 a month, with certain rights and transit dues.

The Bhils of Jhábua, Dohad, and Rajpur only partially understand the language spoken by the Náhals, who are very timid, and run away if they see any one in uniform, and it is very difficult to get them to converse. They, however, sometimes enter towns such as Barwáni, where they bring grass for sale. The Malwa Bhils are unable to give any account of Náhal customs, which, however, they say are entirely different from their own.

As to Bhil religious belief, I made inquiries independently in the districts of Jhábua, Dohad, Ali Rajpur, and Dhar. Rajpur customs differ very materially from the others. It is certainly curious that the deities most generally worshipped are the ordinary Vedic deities of water, fire, and the heavens, who have somewhat fallen out of fashion in Hindu worship. These are termed Zal Deo, An Deo, Pawan Deo, Agan Deo, and Indar Raja—the Vedic deities of water, corn, the wind, fire and the sky, respectively. The modern Hindu gods worshipped are Hanumán, the monkey god, who takes the place of Pales in Roman mythology, and who specially guards the field and homestead. He is known as Khérápatti, the master or protector of the village, and also as Mahábir. Monkeys are sacred to him, and Ratwándra is their local name. It must be noted that the Náhals, contrary to Bhil practice, kill and eat the monkey. Hanumán is specially worshipped in time of drought or sickness, when his image is anointed with oil and smeared with vermilion. He is, indeed, the only deity, so far as I am aware (with one exception), who is represented by an image or idol in the Bhil country. Most of the symbols, *εἰδωλα*, are mere heaps of rough stones in a retired place. No temples are erected to any deity ancient or modern. If the rains be long delayed, the image of Hanumán is daubed with cowdung and mud, hoping to induce the deity to summon the rain in order to

wash himself. At his shrine, sweet cakes, cocoanuts, ghee, and sugar are offered.

Other Hindu gods worshipped are Bháiro, an epithet and an inferior manifestation of Shiva and Sitla Mátâ, the goddess of smallpox. But it is only on extraordinary occasions that the Bhil worships at any but the village shrine. On more important occasions he prefers his requests to some deity having a wider local influence, and most rarely to the larger Hindu deities above mentioned.

In every Bhil village there is a *basti ka dâo*, or village god, whose shrine, marked by a stone or by a heap of stones, is in some sequestered place in or near the village. The jungle here is left untouched, and the place is considered sacred. Each of these local deities has a name known to the village; but his fame does not reach very far. As an illustration—of the village Dhotar in Jhábua *Haréldo* is the local deity; of the village of Wájagode, the presiding deity is *Bábadlo*; while *Gorazo* is the local god of Dohad. But none of these villages will know the name of the god who guards its neighbour.

When the Bhil is from home, absent on military service, or hunting or plundering expeditions, he does not say his prayers at all. He does not believe that they would be acceptable, unless offered at the accustomed shrine. Before starting on his expedition, he worships the local deity and promises him offerings should he return successful. These village gods do not appear to be deified ancestors, or distinguished persons of the village, since these have a separate place in the system of worship.

Some districts are fortunate enough to possess a special deity with a large number of worshippers. Others adopt one of the better-known Hindu gods. *Gorazo* is rather a district than a village god in the Dohad tract. In the Dhar district, *Kánkria Bháiro* is the district god; *Kánkria* being a Bhil name for the *Dhak* (*Butea frondosa*) tree, and *Bháiro* a manifestation of Shiva before mentioned. Around this shrine the *Dhak* forest, with its glorious crimson blossom, is

not permitted to be cut. In Jhábua there is no special district god, but *Indra*, the king of heaven is worshipped. In Rajpur he is less in favour, and in Dhar and Dohad not at all. *Sitla Mátá* is worshipped at a *thánon*, or heap of stones, uncoloured, and with no distinguishing mark. Nor are there any special emblems at the *thánon* of local gods. That of *Bháiro* and *Hanumán* are only smeared with vermilion. *Gorazo* is worshipped both in Dohad and in Jhábua by women who desire children; while in Rajpur there is a special deity, useful in such cases, named *Játadeo*; and, contrary to usual custom, his image is erected in a picturesque spot near the town, on the bank of the river. Here a miracle takes place, and water falls from the nipples of the breasts of the image. The woman desiring a child, or her husband, holds out a hand, and if the water falls in the middle of the palm, the woman will bear a boy; if on the fingers, a girl. Before worship, the suppliant must bathe in the stream. The adoration of this god is continued for ten days only in the cold weather. In Dhar, sterile women consult the *barua*, or wizard, who is an important person in Bhil society. He ties a *ganda*, or thread, round her neck or arm, and, repeating several *mautras*, or charms, ties knots in the thread, and forbids her to eat of some particular fruit during the ensuing year, in which she will have a child. The *barua* is of no particular caste. He is the explainer of omens, and wards off the attacks of evil spirits. The *barua* is supposed to be subject to the direct inspiration of the god, and is convulsed when under this influence. When a special prediction is required from him he is brought to the house of the headman, or *Turvi*, and is there feasted, and the usual amount of mhowra liquor is drunk by the company. Thence, the following day, he is taken to the village shrine, where he prophecies of what will happen, the time and amount of the rainfall, and what sickness is impending, and orders what sacrifices shall be made, and where.

The Bhils, although outcast, or rather without caste,

have many subdivisions which, like the Hindus, they call *gôts*. They do not marry in the near blood relationships, but second cousins, the mother's brother's children, and the father's sister's children are permitted to do so. They do not intermarry, or eat with the Bhils of Kháirwára or Khandésh, nor with the Náhals, south of the Nerbudda; but this is probably from there being no habit of intercommunication, rather than from tribal prejudice. Like Hindus, they burn their dead, except unmarried children of both sexes, and in death from smallpox, when burial is universal, the reason being that Sitla Mátá, the goddess, does not like fire, and if the body be burned, she afflicts more grievously the village. Hindus, it may be noted, bury children who have died of smallpox before their teeth have come. The Malwa Bhils do not practice inoculation, like the Kháirwára Bhils, and are afraid of vaccination. They isolate smallpox patients, but have no special method of treatment, beyond a simple religious ceremony. The worship of the goddess of smallpox is performed yearly, at the time of the *Dassahra*. The Bhils bury in case of cholera, believing that the smoke from the funeral pyre disseminates the disease. It is called Mari, and its deity is Deví Mari Mata. It is believed to pay a triennial visit, and elaborate ceremonies, ending with the invariable drinking bout, are employed to prevent its approach and to mitigate its severity. Lepers, who are compelled to live apart, are also buried, not burnt, when they die.

With regard to worship of the dead, the Bhils believe that every person, man or woman, after death becomes a spirit or ghost, and that these are sometimes, though very rarely, seen; now appearing in the form of those whirlwinds of dust so common in India, at other times as a headless figure of enormous size, appearing at night to terrify the passer-by. Of these spirits, or *bhúts*, the Bhils are much afraid, as they are believed invariably to do harm. They are propitiated by offerings, when any person has dreamt of a dead relative. If, for example, a son has

dreamt of a deceased father, he must erect a slab of stone, and place by it clay figures of horses, swords, and bows and arrows. These memorial slabs are often erected without any distinct instruction by a dream. To men who have been specially obnoxious during their lifetime, or who have been killed in a fight, a stone is erected, and offerings are made, which prevents their spirits giving trouble. A spirit sometimes makes itself known through the medium of the *barwa*, or soothsayer, who falls into a trance, trembles violently, and demands propitiatory presents which have, perhaps, been neglected when asked for in a dream. Sometimes the deceased announces his pleasure through his son. The spirit, speaking through a *barwa*, will recognize his former property in the possession of whomsoever it may happen to be.

Tree worship is unusual among the Bhils. Those, however, in Ali Rajpur worship the teak tree with the sacrifice of a goat, the whole village assembling at the house of the head man, who distributes liquor, the people then visiting the teak tree and performing the prescribed ceremony, anearing it with vermilion. Although I have found no trace of snake worship, it is worth mentioning that the local name for the teak tree is *niḡ*, which is a common name for the snake.

The Bhils have joyfully adopted the principal Hindu festivals—the Dasséhra, the Dewali, and the Holi—as a sound and sufficient excuse for getting drunk. Of these, the Dasséhra is the one most observed. On this occasion, the abodes of the family ghosts, those to whom memorial slabs (*gattlas*) have been erected, are visited by the sons, near relatives, and the friends of the family, and the sacrifice of a goat, if possible, is made. These memorial stones are rather the exception than the rule, and in one village of about two hundred houses I only found seven *gattlas*; in another of sixty houses there were five.

The Bhils are exceedingly superstitious, and witchcraft, signs, and omens occupy a large place in their life. A

witch is called *dákan*, and the witchfinder, wizard, and soothsayer is the *barwa* before mentioned, the Meywar term *bhopá* not being used. The belief in witchcraft is universal, and witches are everywhere to be found. They are of all ages, but generally elderly women, though young girls are often their assistants, and are taught by them. When a man fancies that he or a member of his family or his cattle have been bewitched, he applies to the wizard to discover the cause of his misfortune. This man, who may have some private reason for enmity, points out the woman who has bewitched him. Previous to English rule witches were killed. Their hands were tied, and they were hung naked from the bough of a tree, with a bandage of salt and red pepper over their eyes, and beaten to death with rods. This practice is now forbidden, though torture with red pepper is still practised, one of my Bhil informants having seen a case within the last few months. Colonel Kincaid informs me that, in a case which came under his personal observation, a woman was hung head downwards for the greater part of three days and nights, with chillies rubbed into her eyes, and many beatings on her naked body. She eventually recovered, though her eyesight was destroyed. Sometimes rice is thrown into water as a test of the guilt of a witch, and if it sinks the woman is condemned. If the *barwa* desires her destruction, he bores small holes in each grain, which causes it to sink.

Omens are universally believed in, and their warnings taken. If a snake crosses the path of a traveller, he abandons his journey. A lizard falling on any person's body from the roof of the hut is a sure sign of misfortune. The king crow croaking on the right foretells calamity, on the left happiness. The wagtail, the screech-owl, and the rupli, or *kanháhadí*, are birds which bring good or evil fortune as they are seen on the right or left of the road, and a Bhil, seeing one of these birds in an inauspicious position, will give up his business and return home. If a man sneezes he must defer his business for an hour or two,

though in Rajpur, if he sneezes twice, he may continue it with advantage.

In order to avoid the dangers of evil spirits and inauspicious omens, the Bhil trusts to charms, like other Orientals. An amulet is called *dōra*, and the Hindu *ganda*, which is a string tied round the wrist, they call *diḡa*, evidently from the Hindi *diḡa*. The wizard ties knots or *gitts* in the string, mentioning, as he fastens each, the name of some god. They also use the imported Arabic word *lāwls* for the amulet. It is made of metal, and contains mystical mantras or charms. The Bhils do not always wear these amulets, but only at the *Dassēhra* or other festivals, or in time of illness, or on journeys and expeditions. If always worn, the charm loses its power. The Bhils also wear iron and copper rings on one arm, which preserve them from the perils of the road, such as ghosts, demons, and lightning. The demon which a Bhil informant of mine saw first appeared in the form of a goat, and then changed into a white man. My friend was very much terrified, but he took out his arrow and broke off the iron head, for the *bhāt* is afraid of the shaft without the iron. This is contrary to the Hindu idea that iron is a great preservative against demons. In Dhar also the *bhāts* are afraid of an arrow without the point. In Rajpur, more practical, they only fear a heavy stick.

In Bhil marriage there are three ceremonies; the first is the *sagāi*, which is equivalent to the betrothal, and takes place when the girl is about the age of ten; the second is the *māngi*, and the third is the true marriage, or *bēson*. Between the first and last of these ceremonies five or six years elapse. The usual practice is that the youth should not marry till he is of an age to support a wife and manage his affairs. In the same way the girl is not married till she is adult. In this particular the Bhils are far more civilized than the Hindus. The true marriage of girls, though occasionally at the age of twelve, is not often before fifteen or sixteen. In Ali Rajpur the *sagāi* is called *chhak*

piṅḍ, or wine-drinking. The betrothal is arranged by an agent or go-between, who is called *hāngria*. The father who wishes to betroth his son inquires for a suitable match, which is arranged by the *hāngria*. If the affair be settled the father of the boy goes to the house of the father of the girl, where the invariable Bhil drinking and feasting takes place. The *māngi*, which takes place some years after the *sagāi*, seems to be merely another excuse for drinking; but on this occasion Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 are given as a present to the nearest male relations of the girl. If they accept Rs. 12 they give a cow in return. If they do not wish to give a cow they only take Rs. 6. The bridegroom is called *lādha* or *lāra*, and the bride, *lādhi* or *lāri*. At the marriage the festivities are kept up for seven days. Sticks of turmeric are sent to inform the parents of the bride in how many days the bridegroom will arrive at the house, so as to allow him to call his friends together. The feasting takes place on the last day, and the unpaid balance of the price of the girl is given at the time of the wedding. The bridegroom is carried on the shoulders of another man; he waves his sword once, and is then put down. The bride is then brought in, the dresses of the betrothed pair are knotted together, and they are carried round in a circle. Then they are made to walk round a platform inside the house seven times. One of the relations of the girl takes her either on his shoulders or his hip and carries her round. The father of the girl is put to no expense except perhaps Rs. 5 for a nose-ring, or a bracelet, or necklace, or perhaps he may give some household vessels, but he gives no dowry. The expenses of the marriage festival are borne by both parties at the feasts held at the houses of each. Rs. 67 is the ordinary price (*tantah*) paid for a Bhil maiden. In Dhar it falls as low as Rs. 16, in Rajpur Rs. 50, or, as they call it, two and a half twenty, *dhāi bīs*, and in addition the father gives the boy five maunds of grain. A very pretty girl does not fetch a higher price than a plain one. The girl's consent is naturally not asked

at betrothal, but it often happens that if she does not approve of her intended she runs away with a lover before the time of the marriage. Old maids are not to be found in the Bhil country. If the parents do not marry them they choose for themselves. In case of adultery or abduction the former custom was to kill both the adulterer and the woman, but at present they take a fine, *dand*, which, in all districts, is double the original price paid for the girl. Sometimes the unchaste wife is taken back, sometimes not. A young buffalo or goat is also paid by the abductor to the caste people. There is ordinarily no penalty for seduction of an unmarried girl, but if she be young and suitable her lover is invariably expected to marry her. In Rajpur, however, for the abduction of a virgin there is a penalty of two oxen paid to the father. The money which has been paid for the preliminary ceremony of betrothal is not recovered from the abductor, but if he marries the girl he is bound to pay the father of the girl when he can afford it the sum which he would have obtained had the girl been married to her original betrothed. For a woman or wife the Bhil word is *bhāyer*. Most of their cultivating operations are done by women, only the ploughing and winnowing being done by the men. The women sow the seed and reap the crop. All the operations of the household, as elsewhere, are done by women—plastering the floor of the house, bringing water, grinding flour, and making bread. The women, as is inevitable in a forest tribe where the men are absent for long periods from their homes, enjoy considerable liberty, of which they take full advantage, and frequent murders and assaults are the result of their infidelity. The widow is allowed to marry again, and generally does so; the new husband paying a fine of mowra spirit and cattle to the family of the late husband, whose brother has by custom a preferential right to the woman. But this right is generally waived, for the Bhil women are very independent, and have a great deal to say in the matter of their own disposal. The Jhābua

women wear heavy brass rings on their legs from ankle to knee, and the custom is said to have originated in the desire of the men to check their love of running away from home. But the badge of servitude has been changed into a coveted ornament, though one more unsuited for work in the forest can hardly be imagined.

It is necessary to bring these notes, which I feel are of too desultory and unsystematic a nature for scientific interest, to a close. What the future of the Bhils may be, it is not easy to determine, further than that they may be expected by slow degrees, and under English guidance, to develop into a higher and more civilized type, though it will be many generations before they are assimilated with and fused in the surrounding Hindu community. It may perhaps be hoped that this consummation may be long delayed. As savages, they are picturesque and interesting, and they speak the truth. As low caste members of the Hindu community they would be certainly less interesting and probably less virtuous. The thin varnish of civilization would be ill purchased by its accompanying vices.

It is probable that the Bhils will gradually lose any distinctive religious differences which now separate them from the Hindus, and will be caught in the great Brahmanical net which ever widens to receive and enclose new converts. It has been often asserted that Brahmanism is not a proselytizing creed, and no doubt in a positive and aggressive sense this is true, but it nevertheless has a constant tendency to silently draw within itself all inferior creeds and races. Its enemy and rival is the actively aggressive creed of Islam, before which I believe that Hinduism will eventually fall. My views on this point have been frequently opposed and denied by thoroughly competent critics, but my opinion nevertheless remains that Muhammadanism is the creed most suited for Asiatic and African races of a low intellectual development, and that it is far more likely to commend itself to their simple mental and moral requirements than either Christianity or Brah-

manism. Christianity, as preached in India, is a failure, while the creed of Islam is an increasing success, and the cause for this must be sought in the inadaptability of the Christian doctrine to Orientals. But with the Bhils, whatever their ultimate religious position, they will probably first be absorbed by Hinduism, the propaganda of which is everywhere around them, while that of Islam is non-existent in their district. I have sometimes thought that Christianity might have a chance of success with the Bhils, and judging from the satisfactory results obtained by Christian missionaries among barbarous tribes in Burma and Southern India, together with its absolute failure to influence, far less convert, educated Muhammadans and Hindus, I believed that an attempt to convert the Bhils to Christianity would possess some psychological interest, and I invited the head of one of the Calcutta missions and also missionaries stationed at Indore, to establish a station in the Bhil country and try their hand on these simple people. But this fruitful field, where the untutored savage could offer no inconvenient objections to the extravagancies of Pauline doctrine, was not suited to missionaries who preferred to live in comfortable houses in English stations, to the hardships of ascetic life in a lonely wilderness, and my invitation was not welcomed with any enthusiasm.

I do not know that this is a matter for serious regret, for missionary teaching might have undermined the natural virtues of the Bhils, but it would have been interesting to know whether the doctrines which so utterly repel the cultured Oriental would have been assimilated without repugnance by the less critical savage.

These questions, of surpassing interest, cannot be discussed with advantage at the close of a long article, and such persons as desire to master the subject, I would refer to the "*Asiatic Studies*" of Sir Alfred Lyall, a work which is, in my opinion, the most sound and suggestive which has ever been written on the religious and social life of India.

LESLIE GRIFFIN.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE most important, and in many respects the most interesting, event of the quarter has been the marriage of the young Emperor Kwangsu of China. The telegraph has informed us that the ceremony went off with *éclat*, that the lavish expenditure entailed had to be met by means of a foreign loan, and that speculation is freely indulged as to the character and political proclivities of the new ruler. In the course of a few weeks we may expect the more ample details sure to be given in the descriptive letters from the correspondents sent to Peking. Meanwhile it has been made sufficiently clear that the long regency has come to an end, that the Chinese Emperor is *de facto* sovereign of his country, and that both the Chinese themselves and foreigners are somewhat expectant as to the consequences that will ensue. The one immediate result that seemed inevitable has not yet occurred. The assumption of ruling power by Kwangsu was considered certain to be followed by the reception of the Foreign Ministers, which would be the practical carrying out of the right of audience granted by the Treaty of Peking. Nothing of the sort has taken place, and, so far as is known, Kwangsu will not settle this matter, in the only way that it can be settled, with the same promptitude as was shown by his predecessor Tungche. It is necessary to state for the information of the reader that the right of audience with the Emperor for the Ministers of the Treaty Powers resident at Peking was the chief advantage and privilege gained by the march to the Chinese capital in 1860. It remained a dead letter during the last twelve months of the reign of the defeated Emperor Hien Fung,

who absented himself on purpose from Peking, and during the greater part of the regency which has only recently expired. The one occasion when the right was put into practical force was during the short reign of Tungeh in 1874, and then it happened immediately after his marriage. The circumstances of the present case are, therefore, precisely identical with those that existed fifteen years ago.

It is difficult, therefore, to see how the present Chinese Emperor can decline to be bound by that precedent, and it depends on the action of the Ministers themselves whether the present delay develops into systematic postponement. What is surprising is that many foreign critics have begun to criticize this privilege and to disparage its value. They presuppose, which to say the least is premature, that the Emperor will not give audience, or only do so under greater pressure than is likely to be applied to him. In this matter all the Treaty Powers have an equal interest, and there is no possibility of one snatching an advantage at the expense of another. Even were the right of audience to remain indefinitely in suspense, the pressure suggested by *The Chinese Times*, a well-informed paper published at Tientsin, viz., that all the European Powers should refuse to receive the Chinese envoys to their Courts until their own representatives had been admitted to the imperial presence at Peking, is certainly one upon which the European Governments could not agree, and which public opinion would generally consider excessive to the requirements of the case. The principal inducement to take prompt and vigorous action is the slowness with which the Tsungli Yamen transacts business. That this sluggishness at the nominal Foreign Office of China has not been attended with greater injury to her external relations in the past has been mainly due to the fact that most of the routine connected with those relations has been disposed of with dispatch and in a business-like manner at the Yamen in Tientsin of the Viceroy Li Hung Chang. The question will be asked, and cannot be satisfactorily

answered, When there is no longer a Li Hung Chang will the Tsungli Yamen suffice for the ever-increasing affairs between China and other States? For this reason above all others it is desirable for us to be in practical possession of all our diplomatic rights, and in a country and government constituted like China no lever can equal the impression likely to be produced, particularly on a young ruler, by a personal audience with the representative of a friendly, or possibly unfriendly, Power. The right of audience gained after a protracted and sanguinary struggle is one of the very last privileges we possess in China which should be allowed to remain a dead letter or to lapse into desuetude.

In Afghanistan the visit of the Ameer to his northern province of Turkestan has been made the excuse for some newspaper excitement in Russia. This has now been allayed, and whatever the motive of those who fanned it, there seems every reason to suppose that it will not result on the present occasion in any serious disturbance on the frontier. Certain facts should be remembered in order that light may be thrown on the future policy of Russia in this quarter. The visit of the Ameer to Turkestan was not merely a most natural proceeding, as it would be if to any part of his clearly recognized dominions, but it was rendered almost necessary by the recent revolt of his cousin Ishak. Nothing could so much contribute to the speedy pacification of the disturbed province as the presence of its ruler. Yet, notwithstanding this, and in spite of the fact that the Ameer never left Mazar-i-Sherif, and was consequently more than 150 miles distant from the nearest Russian outpost at Kerkhi, a large and influential portion of the Russian press went out of its way to protest that the Ameer's appearance north of the Hindoo Koosh was a direct menace to Russia, and afforded proof of his covert hostility. These views were not confined to the journalists of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Neither General Komaroff nor Colonel Alikhanoff was averse to showing the attention

with which they watched every possible move on the Central Asian chess-board, and how well prepared they were to meet even a feint with a ponderous dislocation of troops and an overwhelming display of force. If the Ameer had sent any fresh body of troops to Kham-i-Ab, the heroes of Penjdeh would have been equal to repeating that incident, but even they hesitated to precipitate a collision with the few sowars maintained at this outpost. The recklessness of these men would have made little of an assault on the Afghans, although its immediate consequence might and should be the outbreak of war between England and Russia.

As soon as the St. Petersburg authorities learnt of these doings, and after obtaining information that nothing was further from the thoughts of Abdurrahman than to preach a *jehad*, they gave stringent orders that no disturbance was to be allowed, and at once directed the peaceful General Rosenbach, Governor-General of Turkestan, to return to his post and assume control of affairs at Merv as well as on the Oxus. In order to emphasize the significance of this step the announcement is finally made that the Trans-Caspian territory is to be subordinate to Turkestan. This decree implies a severe official rebuke for the present Merv officials, and it is deemed probable that General Komaroff under it will either retire or seek a different sphere of action, and that Colonel Alikhanoff's energy will be less obtrusive for some time to come. We have just termed General Rosenbach peaceful; by this it must not be understood that he would be averse to push the Czar's interests by force, or even to undertaking the invasion of Afghanistan, but he would do so in a legitimate way, in obedience to the orders of his sovereign, and not surreptitiously by raising an *émence* on the borders. When the Russian Government resolves to assume the offensive against Afghanistan, General Rosenbach is no doubt one of the foremost men that will be employed, but he will not do the dirty work of the Circassian or Armenian. His

return to Central Asia is a guarantee that Russia does not mean for the moment to force events on the Oxus, or to precipitate a quarrel with the Afghans, who are bound by the laws of sympathy and self-interest to receive our support in face of any unprovoked and unjustifiable attack.

At the same time, the incident has served to bring out one or two facts regarding Afghanistan and our relations with its ruler which will have an important effect hereafter. In the first place, Abdurrahman has been accompanied on his tour by an English officer, and this will serve as a useful precedent when the appointment of English agents at Balkh, Maimena, and Herat has to be decided upon, as it must be before very long. In the second, it cannot be denied that the Ameer has succeeded in pacifying his northern province very effectually, and that if Ishak were to make a fresh descent upon it he would find its inhabitants very disinclined to make common cause with him. These facts signify a tangible improvement in the position north of the Hindoo Koosh, and it has been gained at the small cost of the recent scare. In the third place, this advantage has been obtained without, so far as is known, our giving umbrage to Abdurrahman by proffering advice which could only be uncongenial, or placing a restraint on his unfettered action. As has been often pointed out in our pages, the rock ahead in our relations with a friendly Afghanistan is that we may at the bidding of Russia hamper or interfere with the legitimate action, as he will deem it, of the Ameer. The easiest policy for Russia in her task of alienating Afghanistan from England is to work through us. The Afghans are a proud and capable race, and the day will surely come when no choice will be left to us between championing some act of theirs against Russia which in the strict letter of the law is not justifiable, and seeing them cut off from our side by the unendurable curb which we seek to place on their impulses. The visit of the Ameer to the Russian frontier has ended, and the

danger of a collision is once more thrust into the background. Let us hope that the good work will still be followed up by a special mission in the coming spring to Candahar or Cabul, and that the year will not close without there being telegraphic communication with both these cities, and English officers resident in Turkestan.

On the subject of Persia there is little satisfactory to be said. During the last three months our diplomacy has been inactive, and the tendency has been once more to efface ourselves and leave Russia mistress of the field. M. Vlassow, the newly appointed Consul at Meshed, has reached his destination, and it will not be surprising if he gives early proof that his new appointment is not a sinecure. But the success of Russia in obtaining equivalents for the Karun River concession is not limited to the Meshed consulate. Something is to be done for the improvement of trade in the Caspian ports of Persia and of communications with Teheran and in Khorassan. But these points are of minor importance in comparison with the principal aim of Russian policy in Persia, which is to exclude Prince Zil-es-Sultan from the succession. The Russians fear both the ability and the English proclivities of that prince, and they will spare no effort to complete the disgrace in which he now stands by consummating his ruin. English diplomacy in Persia has no right to boast of any success so long as this prince, who suffers for his friendliness to this country, is detained in close, if honourable, confinement. If we cannot procure his restoration to the governorship of Ispahan we ought at the least to obtain his liberty with the right of residence at Shiraz or some other town in Southern Persia. Some of the Anglo-Indian papers have expressed strong dissent from the views expressed in this Review about bringing Afghanistan and Persia into line with each other under our own auspices. It is only necessary to ask, Is the hostility between Sunni and Shiah so implacable that it cannot be allayed, if not removed, by a common necessity and danger? History contains several

examples to the contrary, and if they were rare and transitory, the danger was also temporary, and far less urgent than it will be when Russia makes her next move forward. Failure in Persia to hold our own will greatly detract from even complete success in Afghanistan, and if the public wish to know the real position of English influence in the Shah's dominions as compared with Russia, they have a sure criterion of which is uppermost in the position of Prince Zil-es-Sultan.

The alarmist reports spread as to the position of affairs in Burmah by *The Times* correspondent must be accepted *cum grano*. There is not the least doubt that they are grossly exaggerated. The task we took in hand was unduly minimized at the start, and of course three years seems long when sanguine people described the country as pacified after a three months' occupation. But although dacoity is not suppressed, and the Chin and Kakhyen districts are specially disturbed, the task of conquest has gone on steadily towards a successful termination, and the next cold season will undoubtedly give the Government the opportunity of completing the pacification of the country. Two things are necessary for the conversion of Burmah into a valuable dependency. One is that it should be elevated to a Lieutenant-governorship, and the other, that a loan should be raised for the construction of railways. The latter should not be for less than ten millions, and the railways should be constructed with a special eye to the requirements of Burmah in the first place, and only in the second with regard to an extension into South-west China. Burmah offers a splendid field for the employment of English capital and enterprise in many ways, but the Government must set an example and accept the responsibility of providing the necessary means of communication. Up to the present it has acted as if everything was going to be done for it at the individual risk of the English investor. The hands of the executive at Mandalay must be strengthened, and the Government

of India must hypothecate some of the future revenue and resources of the province in order that they may in due course be realized to their fullest extent. Unless this be done the annexation of Burmah can no longer be compared to that of the Punjab forty years ago, and the present rulers of India must submit to bear the aspersion that they have lost the art of government, which was the special characteristic of the Lawrences, the Metcalfes, and too many others to name of the last generation.

One sensational incident has happened in India, and that is the discovery of the treasonable correspondence of the Maharajah of Cashmere or his Ministers. The details have not been made known, and perhaps this is the wisest course to take; but it is ascertained that the plot included the poisoning of the English Resident at Srinuggur. A board of Regency has been appointed, and the Maharajah, who is described as an imbecile, has been relieved of his functions. The whole occurrence justifies a hope and a moral. The hope is that Cashmere, the salient angle of Indian defence, will soon be British territory. The moral is, how much faith can be placed in, not merely the native press, but in those Anglo-Indian journals which for months past have been complaining of the arbitrary conduct of our Resident in Cashmere, and representing its mad and treacherous ruler as an injured prince.

REVIEWS.

Gould's Ornithological Works.

By the publication of the final parts of his "Birds of New Guinea," Messrs. Henry Sotheran & Co., of 36, Piccadilly, London, have brought to a conclusion the magnificent ornithological works of the late Mr. John Gould. The "Birds of New Guinea" constitute what many consider from the grand character of the birds depicted and the splendour of their plumage, the finest volume of even this magnificent collection on, practically speaking, all the birds of the world. Our readers will feel a direct interest in the fact that it took Mr. Gould more than 30 years to illustrate the "Birds of Asia," which he finally completed in 1883. More than half a century ago also Mr. Gould produced his first work on the birds of the Himalayas. It will thus be seen that India attracted much of his attention. It would be presumptuous to attempt to criticize so noble a work, which has a standard and imperishable value both for Mr. Gould's scientific and graphic descriptions and for the singularly beautiful hand-painted pictures of each bird, and generally of both the male and female kinds. Messrs. Sotheran offer the complete collection of 43 volumes, with 3,158 plates, handsomely bound in green morocco, and deposited in two carved cabinets, for £1,000, and they are happy to allow any intending purchaser to inspect the collection. We cannot but think that the Princes of India, like the Nizam, the Gaekwar, and Maharajah Holkar, who are known as patrons of English literature and extensive purchasers of our books should certainly secure a copy of this noble and

rare work for their libraries. The value of most books is affected by their only supplying a temporary use, and the purchaser hesitates to buy because a better work on the same subject may be issued a very few months afterwards. Such fears need not be entertained with regard to Mr. Gould, who has left nothing for his successors to do in the particular line of research that he made his own indisputable province.

The Mahomedan Society of Calcutta.

WE have received a copy of the pamphlet recording the work of a quarter of a century of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, which has just celebrated its jubilee. That society owes its origin and certainly all its success to the Nawab Abdul Latif, who has for many years discharged the onerous duties of secretary. The record of the society is both interesting and encouraging—interesting because it relates to the literary activity of Mahomedans, and encouraging because that activity, in an uncongenial and at least unwonted sphere, is steadily increasing, and not in a small degree is this due to the example of the Calcutta Society and the strenuous efforts of the Nawab Abdul Latif. In 1863 the prospects of the Mahomedan subjects of the Queen were at their lowest ebb. The system of education and examination was altogether in favour of the astute Hindoo, and this advantage was increased by the reluctance shown by the Mahomedans to take up the sort of learning requisite for employment by Government. Under these discouraging circumstances it was all the more remarkable that an individual Moulvi should have thrown himself into the breach and founded a society which, after 25 years of active life, is now forming new branches of energy and utility. Yet that is precisely what Nawab Abdul Latif has accomplished. All this labour has produced a definite

result, and there cannot be two opinions as to the political position of the Mussulmans of India having materially improved within even the last three years. We are glad to notice throughout all the proceedings of this society a conspicuous tone of loyalty, and it is in that direction that the best chance of the Mahomedans of India lies. The Hindoos who have tasted the dangerous fruit of our education are already disaffected, and may, in a little time, be absolutely traitorous; but the Mahomedans, who have not shown the same avidity in imbibing the book-lore we placed at their feet, remain steadfast in the belief of the duties imposed alike on the governing and the governed. In an unexpected degree British policy in India has become in close accord with the views and aspirations of the Mahomedan community, which has only to continue in the wise and politic course laid down for it by this Society to reap the full benefit of its prescient judgment.

Indian Life.

PROFESSOR OMAN has produced an extremely interesting book in this volume on "Indian Life," religious and social (T. Fisher Unwin), and one that will much help the English reader to form correct ideas as to how the great mass of the Indian peoples live and think. The chapters which make up the second part of this volume should reveal how primitive is the state of society with which our would-be reformers would have us deal on the most advanced principles of Liberal constitutionalism. They will show that after the lapse of even a century the Government of India has very little to do with the matrimonial fortunes of a man like old Fakeerah, or the family status of that universal victim the daughter-in-law. And perhaps the real strength of England's position in India is that it is so, notwithstanding what Radical philosophers may advance to the contrary. So long as our

councils are swayed by wisdom, we shall be slow to interfere with the cherished customs and traditions of the Hindoo population, or to attempt to graft upon them elaborate political systems for which they are not suited. Professor Oman does not preach any political lesson in particular, but his facts are very significant and instructive.

The India Office List.

THE India Office List prepared under the direction of Mr. F. C. Danvers, the Registrar and Superintendent of Records, contains a remarkably complete and fairly detailed account of the official careers of the principal officers in the Indian service both in India and at Westminster. A Who's who or Men of the Time for India is a work that every one connected with the East feels the want of at some time or other, and the India Office has produced a volume which goes far towards filling the void. There is much more information in this volume than biographical data, but they represent its distinctive feature. Among the increasing number of Anglo-Indian works of reference, the India Office List is sure to hold a foremost place. It is published by Messrs. Harrison and Sons of Pall Mall, S.W.

Media.

MRS. RAGOZIN has added an interesting and readable account of Media to the volumes on Assyria and Chaldaea which she has already contributed to the "Story of the Nations" series (T. Fisher Unwin). The history of Media is defined as from the fall of Nineveh to the Persian War, but as the Parsis are the devoted followers of Zoroaster, there is a connecting link with the present day. A good deal of space is devoted to the Zoroastrian religion and the Zendavesta.

but the careers of Nebuchadnezzar and Cambyses are well told. The affairs of the great Babylon banking firm of Egibi—Rothschilds of the ancient world—are fully described, and form an interesting episode in the due succession of conquest and invasion. Egibi is believed to be only a form of the Jewish name Jacob, and the firm is said to have endured for four centuries, down to the time of Alexander.

Australia.

MR. PATCHETT MARTIN'S "sheaf of essays" form a very valuable book on the Australian colonies and their place in the Empire. ["Australia and the Empire." By A. PATCHETT MARTIN. (Edinburgh: David Douglas.)] Such a work was much needed, for the English reader generally is more ignorant of Antipodean politics than he is even of Asiatic, and Mr. Martin has compressed into the small compass of a volume of less than three hundred pages more information about the political views and position of the great colonies of Australia than is to be found in many more pretentious and voluminous works. Mr. Martin is evidently imbued with the true imperial spirit; he does not hesitate as "a colonial Englishman" to say that Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy would, if realized, be "fatal to the continuance of the British Empire," and he has dedicated his volume to Mr. Balfour. At the same time, he gives much valuable information as to the feelings prevalent among the colonists themselves, and as to the practical difficulties in the way of any scheme of Imperial Federation. The work deserves to be widely read, and quoted as a standard authority on the subjects with which it deals.

Phœnicia.

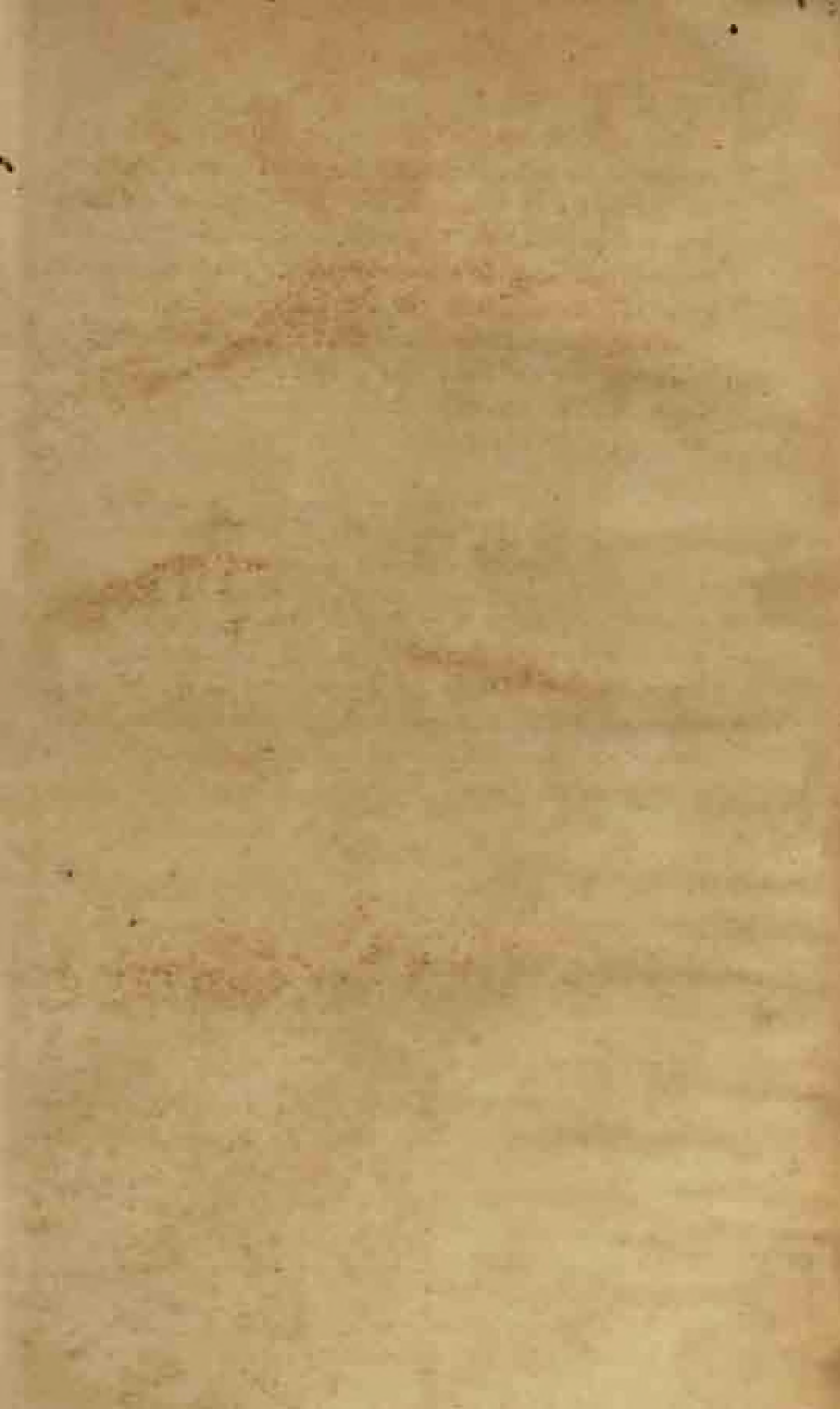
No better authority or writer than Professor George Rawlinson could possibly have been selected for the task

of describing Phœnicia (T. Fisher Unwin). To the English reader the narrative of the first historical masters of the sea can hardly fail of attraction, and their extended cruises to Britain and round the African coast prove the Phœnicians to have been bold and skilful mariners. A clear account is given of their relations with the Jews, the Assyrians, and other neighbours, as well as of the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the capture of Tyre by Alexander. The last three chapters relate to the religion, architecture, and language of the Phœnicians.

The Currency Question.

SPACE will not allow us to do more than to recommend this volume ["The Standard of Value." By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN. Sixth edition. (Longmans and Co.)] to all those interested in the consideration of the intricate and important currency question, and the rival arguments of monometallists and bimetallicists.





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